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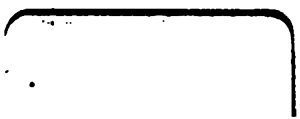
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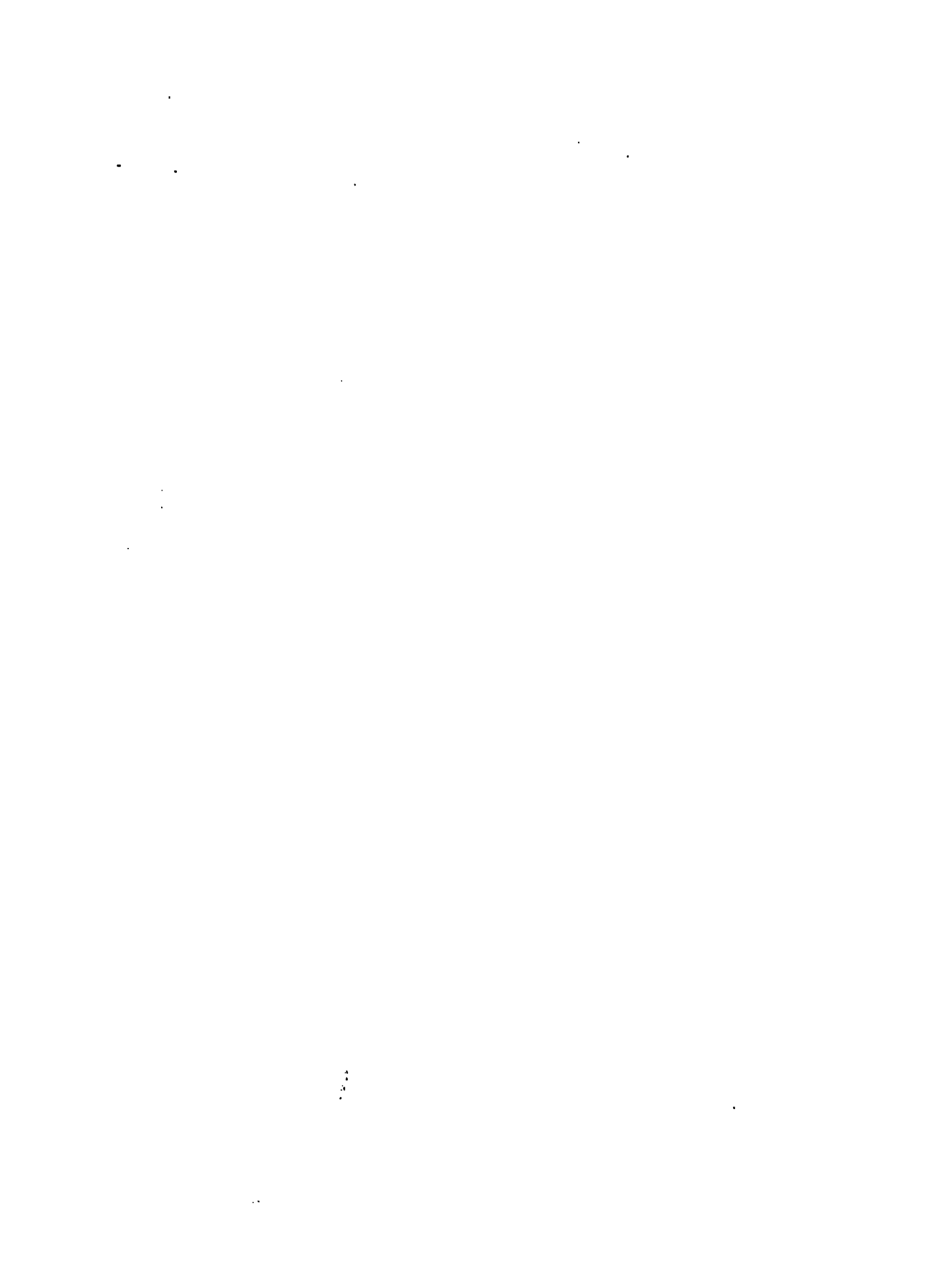


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**The**  
**Early Massachusetts Press**  
**1638–1711**

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of which this is No. 33*



THE  
WHOLE BOOK  
OF  
PSALMES,  
Faithfully translated into  
*English Metre :*

Whereunto is prefixed a discourse, declaring not  
onely the lawfulness, but also the necessity  
of the heavenly Ordinance of sing-  
ing Scripture Psalmes in the  
Churches of God.

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COZ. 3. 16.

*Let the word of God dwell plentifully in you,  
in all wisdom, teaching and exhorting one ano-  
ther in Psalmes, Hymns, and Spirituall Songs,  
singing to the Lord with grace in your hearts.*

JAMES 5. 12.

*If any be afflicted, let him pray; and if any be  
merry, let him sing Psalmes.*

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Imprinted 1647.

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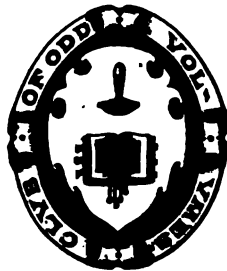
# The Early Massachusetts Press

1638-1711

By  
George Emery Littlefield

*In Two Volumes*

VOL. I



Boston, Massachusetts  
The Club of Odd Volumes

1907

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**BY THE CLUB OF ODD VOLUMES**



**THE UNIVERSITY PRESS, CAMBRIDGE, U. S. A.**

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TO  
GEORGE LAMB  
OF CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS  
ANTIQUARY AND CARTOGRAPHER  
A CONSTANT ADVISER AND FAITHFUL FRIEND, TO WHOM GREAT INDEBTEDNESS  
IS DUE FOR VALUABLE INFORMATION FREELY GIVEN  
*This Work is Dedicated*  
BY THE AUTHOR  
IN TOKEN OF HIGH ESTEEM AND SINCERE REGARD

M617814





## Preface

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**D**URING the summer of nineteen hundred and four our associate, Mr. Frederick L. Gay, had the good fortune to secure a small but remarkably choice collection of books relating to the colonial period of New England history. In it was a small volume of poetry by a New England author, of which slight notice has been taken by bibliographers.

As only the initials of the author's name appear upon the titlepage, and as in the imprint simply the year of publication is mentioned, curiosity was excited to obtain a sketch of the life of the author, to discover the place of publication, and to find out the name of the printer. Also the opportunity was taken to study the rise and progress of printing in the Massachusetts Colony from sixteen hundred and thirty-eight to seventeen hundred and eleven, the latter date being selected because in that year nearly all the book-shops in Boston were destroyed by fire.



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**The Early Massachusetts Press**

1638-1711

**Richard Steere**

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The  
Early Massachusetts Press  
1638—1711

Richard Steere

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**I**N 1684 there was published a little book entitled, *A Monumental Memorial of Marine Mercy being an Acknowledgment of an High Hand of Divine Deliverance on the Deep in the Time of distress, in A Late Voyage from Boston in New England to London, Anno 1683. In a Poem By Richard Steere. To which is added another Occasioned by Several Remarkable Passages happening at the Birth of a Male Child on Board the same Ship in her Voyage Returning 1684. By the same Author then a Passenger. Printed at Boston in New England by Richard Pierce for James Cowse Stationer Anno 1684.*

It is a very small affair, and is properly called an octavo. This description, however, refers to the folding of its signatures rather than to the inches of its dimensions. Its size would be better understood if it were designated as sextodecimo, although its only signature contains eight leaves, or sixteen pages.

The title occupies the first page, the verso being blank. The third and fourth pages are taken up by "To the Reader," ending on the fourth page with a rude woodcut measuring  $3 \times 3\frac{3}{8}$  inches, covering more than half of the page, representing a winged figure moving to the right in the clouds, with her face turned toward the front and her right hand pointing upward.

The ten pages immediately following contain the poem, *A Monumental Memorial of Marine Mercy*, etc., ending with a rude woodcut about 2½ inches square, representing a ship under full sail driven before a gale. The last two pages contain *A Poem occasionally written on Some Remarkables happening at the Birth of the Son of Thomas and Sarah Wallis upon the Atlantick or Western Ocean, July the 26, 1684.*

The crudeness of the cuts shows that the artist possessed little skill in the art of engraving, and it would furnish an entertaining study for the members of this Club who are interested in that art to ascertain the name of the early Boston engraver who executed the illustrations, not only for this book but for other books published about the same time, as the engravings in the different books evidently are the work of the same hand.

In 1713 there was published a small octavo volume of ninety-two pages entitled, *The Daniel Catcher. The Life of the Prophet Daniel in a Poem. Added Earth's Felicities, Heaven's Allowances. A Blank Poem. With Other Poems.* By R. S. Printed in the year 1713.

Both the *Monumental Memorial* and *The Daniel Catcher* are very scarce books. Of the *Memorial* a single copy only is known, namely, the copy in the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Of *The Daniel Catcher* but two copies have been found, although many libraries have been searched which would be supposed to have such a book on their shelves if it were in existence. One copy is in the library of the Rev. Thomas Prince, now deposited by its custodians, the trustees of the Old South Church, in the building of the Boston Public Library. The other copy is in the library of Mr. Frederick L. Gay, and is the innocent cause of this book.

In his memoir of the Rev. Thomas Prince, Mr. William H. Whitmore says:

“As a historian and as a collector of books and manuscripts,

Thomas Prince stands almost at the head of our roll of New England's worthies. As a collector of books and manuscripts he had but two rivals in the Colonial period. Cotton Mather, or perhaps more truly the Mather family, had made great accumulations of material for the history of New England, and Thomas Hutchinson later evinced his industry in the same pursuit. The fate of both collections, however, was lamentable; Hutchinson's scattered by the fury of a brutal mob, and Mather's wasted piecemeal as it passed from neglect to utter dispersion.

"Prince's Library, originally, perhaps, the most important of the three, has been preserved for our use, though not entire, yet invaluable. It was deposited in the steeple chamber of the Old South Church, and, by Prince's will, was given as a trust to that Society."

Until Mr. Gay fortunately secured another copy, it was due to the diligence of Rev. Thomas Prince in preserving a copy in his library that it was known that such a volume of poetry as *The Daniel Catcher* had been published, and to his carefulness to note in his books any little facts relating to them which came to his knowledge that we know the name of the author. Opposite the entry of "R. S. The Daniel Catcher," in Prince's manuscript catalogue of his library, is written, "R. Steer Of Long Island." In the copy of the book in Prince's library is a note in Prince's handwriting, which reads: "This Book was wrote by Mr. R. Steer of            on Long Island & Printed at in New England." Evidently Prince had not found out where it was printed, or the name of the printer.

Whether or not Mr. Steere wrote and published other books is unknown. It is not probable that during the thirty years which elapsed between the publishing of the *Monumental Memorial* and *The Daniel Catcher* his pen remained idle. When any one has been seized with that terrible disease known as *cacoëthes scribendi*, it is almost impossible to effect a cure. It is not suf-

ficient to say that no copies are known. In early records and printed books there are many references to books which are not now in existence, and of which we should have no knowledge except for those references. The two books under discussion barely escaped destruction; and that in some old library, among the discarded books in some old garret, or in some unsuspected and unexpected manner other works by this author will come to light, is not an improbable supposition.

Were it not for the preservation of these two books, it would not be known that such a poet as Richard Steere ever lived; for until recently his name is not found in the list of American authors, nor has any sketch of him or his works ever been written. Although in his books he shows that he had been a diligent student, had been a great reader, and was conversant with the literature of the day, that he could write poetry which embodied noble thoughts and high aspirations, — poetry which was equal if not superior to that of any of his contemporaries in New England, — yet his name is forgotten and his works have practically disappeared. Search for information regarding this author has been very disappointing. Although he was a gentleman of culture, with some literary ability, moving in and connected with the higher walks of society, yet almost the only printed notice of him that has been found is that which relates to his connection with a religious wrangle.

Richard Steere was born in England in 1643. Of his life in England nothing is known except that he became a "Citizen of London," which indicates that he was a person of respectability and a member of one of the great Guilds or Companies of London. Possibly a search of the records of these societies at Somerset House might furnish us with the story of his life. A "Citizen of London" enjoyed the freedom and privileges of that city. He owed allegiance to the government and was entitled to reciprocal protection from it. This protection was

national protection, recognition of the individual, in the face of foreign nations, as a member of the state, and assertion of security and rights abroad as well as at home. A man might well be proud of being a "Citizen of London."

It is not known when Richard Steere came to New England. From his indorsement later of the religious opinions of Rev. John Rogers of New London, it is very probable that when he arrived in Boston he proceeded to Providence, Rhode Island, where dwelt John Steere, a stanch supporter of Roger Williams, and possibly a kinsman of Richard.

In 1638 certain prominent citizens of Boston, on account of differences of religious opinions, were banished from Massachusetts and compelled to seek a residence beyond its jurisdiction.

Proceeding to the Island of Rhode Island, they settled the towns of Portsmouth and Newport, drew up compacts for government somewhat similar to the Mayflower compact, and applied for a royal charter, which was granted in 1663 by King Charles II, and which was even more liberal in its terms than the Connecticut charter, granted in 1662, in that it guaranteed religious freedom. The section in the charter which relates to this subject reads in part: "We have therefore thought fit and do hereby publish, grant, ordain, and declare that our royall will and pleasure is, that no person within the said colony, at any time hereafter, shall be any wise molested, punished, disquieted, or called in question, for any differences in opinion in matters of religion, that do not actually disturb the civil peace of our colony."

In 1674 John Rogers joined the Seventh Day Baptist Church in Newport, Rhode Island, and in 1675 became the pastor of the Seventh Day Baptist Church in New London, Connecticut, under the Newport church. Having added to the service of that church some practices that were not indorsed by the

Newport church, the New London church separated from the Newport church and was afterwards known as the Rogerene church, and its members were called Rogerenes. "It was a strictly evangelical sect of nonresistant principles, resolutely opposed to any dictation regarding religious observances aside from the teachings of the New Testament. They were the first people to make a stand against ecclesiastical legislation in the Colony of Connecticut and conscientiously maintained that stand, in the face of merciless distraintments and persecutions for the space of a century until the full dawn of religious liberty."<sup>1</sup>

It is supposed that Richard Steere was a member of the Newport church and accompanied Rogers to New London. If this be true, he was in New London as early as 1675. The father of John Rogers was a very wealthy man, and carried on the most extensive foreign and domestic trade of any man in New London. He held many positions of trust in church and state, and was much esteemed for his high character and intelligence. Mr. Steere was evidently possessed of ample means, gifted with a poetic temperament, and so far as is known a gentleman of leisure. It is possible that the excellent qualities of the father, James Rogers, had something to do with drawing Mr. Steere to New London. We have seen that in 1683 and 1684 he spent several months in travel abroad, where his literary attainments would naturally bring him into companionship with men of letters. It may have been through his representations that several booksellers were encouraged to emigrate to Boston about that time, one of whom had the honor of publishing his earlier book of poems.

In 1692 he married Elizabeth, the widow of John Wheeler, a prominent merchant of New London, she being about thirty-five years of age. Mr. Wheeler had been very enterprising in

<sup>1</sup> *The Rogerenes*, by Anna B. Williams. Boston, 1904.

foreign trade, especially with England and the West Indies. His vessels were built under his own supervision, and one of them at the time of his death had just returned from an English voyage. It is probable that in crossing and recrossing the Atlantic Mr. Steere made the passage in one of Mr. Wheeler's vessels.

It was one of the tenets of the Rogerenes that the seventh day of the week should be observed as a day of rest rather than the first; and for persisting in working on the first day after repeated warnings to desist, in 1694 their leader, John Rogers, was arrested and imprisoned. While he was in prison an attack upon the government and colony of Connecticut was printed, signed by Richard Steere, Samuel Beebe, Jr., Jonathan and James Rogers, accusing it of "persecution of dissenters, narrow principles, self interests, spirit of domineering; and that to compel people to pay for a Presbyterian minister, is against the laws of England, is rapine, robbery, and oppression."

A special court was held at New London, January 24, 1694-5, to consider this libellous paper. The subscribers were fined £5 each, whereupon they appealed to the Court of Assistants at Hartford, which, confirming the first decision, they threatened to appeal to Cæsar, that is, to the throne of England. In all probability the fine was paid and the case dropped. Some time after, Mr. Steere crossed the Sound and settled in Southold, where he died in 1721. The stone at the head of his grave in the old burying-ground in Southold bears the following epitaph:

HERE LYES BURIED Y<sup>e</sup>  
BODY OF M<sup>r</sup> RICHARD  
STEERE CITIZEN OF LONDON<sup>a</sup>  
WHO DEPARTED THIS  
LIFE JUNE Y<sup>e</sup> 20<sup>th</sup> 1721 IN  
Y<sup>e</sup> 78 YEAR OF HIS AGE





**James Cowse**

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## James Cowse

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**T**HE imprint of *A Monumental Memorial* informs us that James Cowse was the publisher, and Richard Pierce the printer.

James Cowse was an English bookseller, whose religious principles brought him into conflict with the government, and who thought it expedient to leave England until there was a change. For similar reasons Richard Wilkins, Benjamin Harris, Duncan Campbell, Job How, and other booksellers about this time left England and came to Boston, whose advent resulted in making Boston the literary centre of the American colonies.

The date of arrival of Mr. Cowse in Boston is definitely fixed by a peculiarity of the town laws. On May 9, 1636, at a meeting of the overseers,

“It was ordered that noe Townsmen shall entertaine any stranger into theire houses for above 14 dayes without leave from those that are appointed to order the townes businesses.”

This order was re-enacted several times. On June 13, 1659, “att a meeting of the inhabitants upon publick notice from house to house” the following action was taken :

“Whereas sundry inhabitants in this towne have nott so well attended to former orders made for the securing the towne from charge by sojourners, inmates, hyred servants, journey-men, or other persons that come for help in physick or chyru-gery, whereby no little damage hath already and much more may accrew to the towne. For the prevention whereof Itt is therefore ordered, that whosoever of our inhabitants shall henceforth

receive any such persons before named into their houses or employments without liberty granted from the select men, shall pay twenty shillings for the first weeke, and so from weeke to weeke, twenty shillings, so long as they retaine them, and shall beare all the charge that may accrew to the Towne by every such sojourner, journeyman, hired servant, Inmate, etc., received or employed as aforesaid. Provided, always, that if any so receiving any shall, within fifteen dayes, give sufficient security unto the select men that the Towne may be secured from all charges that may arise by any person received, and that the person so received bee not of notorious evill life and manners, their fine abovesaid shall bee remitted or abated according to the discretion of the select men. And itt is further ordered that if after bond given by any, they give such orderly notice to the select men that the towne may bee fully cleared of such person or persons so received according to law, then their bonds shall be given in againe."

This order remained in force until after the year 1700. In the office of the City Clerk of Boston there is a small square volume containing mainly bonds and memoranda relating to persons desiring to settle in the town. In it appears the following record:

"I Humphrey Luscombe of Boston, Merchant, doe binde myselfe to Edward Willis, Treasurer of the Town of Boston, in the sum of fortie pounds that James Cowse and his family shall not be chargeable to the Towne. 31 of March 1684.

JAMES COWSE.

HUMPHREY LUSCOMBE."

Mr. Cowse, therefore, must have arrived between the fifteenth and the thirty-first of March, 1684. He evidently was a man of means, as he opened a shop for the sale of books and stationery which there is reason for believing was situated next to the "Rose and Crown Tavern," a famous hostelry of the day, which occupied

the southwest corner of King Street and Pudding Lane. Several years after, the tavern was removed in order to widen Pudding Lane, now Devonshire Street.

In 1685 Mr. Cowse indicated his theological opinions by having reprinted for him a book written by Rev. Peter Bereault, D.D., entitled *The Church of Rome proved Heretick*. On the tax-list of 1687 his name does not appear, and it is therefore supposed that he had returned to England, as the change in the government for which he had been waiting had taken place. The news reached Boston on April 3, 1685, by a ship from Newcastle, of the death of Charles the Second, and that James the Second had been proclaimed.

The brief biographical sketch of the author and this short notice of the publisher of *A Monumental Memorial* may serve as an introduction to the following notes on the early Massachusetts presses and the printers who managed them.

The memoir of the printer of the *Memorial* will be found later in the volume, after his predecessors have been described.



**Reverend Jose Glover**

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## Reverend Jose Glover

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**A**S it was due to the efforts of the Reverend Jose Glover that the Massachusetts Bay Colony was provided with a printing press, it is eminently fitting that he should be styled the "Father of the Massachusetts Press." He was a wealthy dissenting English clergyman, who resigned the office of Rector of Sutton in Surrey in 1636, to engage in soliciting funds in England for the establishing of a college at Cambridge in New England. In 1638 he intended to cross the Atlantic Ocean for the purpose, as we shall endeavor to show, of becoming the official head, or president, of this new institution of learning.

It has been thought proper, therefore, to include in these biographical notices an account of the life of the man who planned the establishment of a printing office in New England, and who made it possible for the printers to exercise their art by furnishing it with a printing press amply equipped with all needed supplies.

Roger Glover, Esq., of Beckett or Bewcott, Berkshire County, England, married Susan, daughter of Robert Goodwin, citizen and salter of London. In his will, written August 4, 1610, proved October 16, 1610, Robert Goodwin mentions two sons, Peter and John, to the latter of whom he bequeaths three hundred pounds "within three months after he shall be made a freeman of London or shall have attained to the age of six and twenty years, which first shall happen." To his daughter Mary, who had married Richard Jenney, he bequeaths eight pounds a year. To "my son in law Roger Glover" and "my daughter

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## Reverend Jose Glover

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Glover" he bequeaths mourning gowns and rings. To Susan Glover, a silver pepper box, and to Ellen Glover two gilt spoons. To the Company of Salters, of which he was a member, he bequeaths ten pounds, and to the poor of the Dutch church five pounds. Robert Goodwin appears to have been possessed of considerable property, and his son Peter in 1661 disposes of a very large estate.

The children of Roger and Susan (Goodwin) Glover were :

- I. Susan.
- II. Ellen.
- III. Jose.
- IV. John.
- V. Roger, born May, 1604.
- VI. Richard, " " 1605.
- VII. Elizabeth.
- VIII. Sarah.
- IX. Ralph, " Dec. 1607.

Mr. Roger Glover married after 1615 for his second wife Mrs. Anne Barty, widow of Francis Barty, who died in 1615, and was buried in Milton Ernest Church, Bedfordshire, where his tablet can still be seen. Mrs. Barty was born in this parish, being the daughter of John and Judith Rolt. She outlived Mr. Glover, and in her will, proved June 26, 1654, she directs that " my body shall be carried to Milton Hervy in Bedfordshire and buried in the parish church near unto my dear and loving husband Francis Barty in decent and comely manner." She also refers to the sale by Mr. Glover of his lands in Beckett, and to his ownership of lands and houses in Ratcliffe, Middlesex County, out of which her jointure of fifty pounds a year was to be paid.

At the time of his death Roger Glover was living in London and was possessed of a large estate, as in his will written January 9, 1633, proved August 7, 1634, he refers to a loan of

eleven hundred and forty-five pounds to his son-in-law, Robert Pemberton, mentions a bond of his son John Glover for the payment of twelve hundred pounds for which he guaranteed the payment, bequeaths five hundred pounds each to his younger children Sarah and Ralph, and two hundred pounds for fitting out the ship "Coslet, for which ship I have a bill of sale," for his son Roger. Mr. Glover was evidently trading in the West Indies. Jose and John had already been provided for, Jose holding the reversion of certain properties in the Manor of Stebonheath and John being styled by Mr. Glover "The heir of Ratcliffe."

Roger Glover's oldest daughter Susan married Robert Pemberton of St. Albans, in the county of Hertfordshire, a member of an old and distinguished family. He was the second son of Roger Pemberton, and was baptized December 23, 1586. In his will written November 13, 1624, proved December 5, 1627, Roger Pemberton bequeaths "unto my cosen and Godsonne Roger Williams the some of ten pounds of lawfull english money."

Mr. Henry F. Waters, the distinguished genealogist, proves quite conclusively that this Roger Williams is the same Roger Williams who founded the Providence Plantations.<sup>1</sup> James Williams, the father of Roger Williams, and Roger Pemberton were brothers-in-law, having married sisters. Robert Pemberton and Roger Williams, therefore, were cousins. As Robert Pemberton and Jose Glover were brothers-in-law it is very probable that Roger Williams and Jose Glover, being of about the same age, closely connected by marriage and engaged in kindred pursuits, were intimately acquainted long before the incorporation of the Company of the Massachusetts Bay. Robert Pemberton died at St. Albans, and was buried there May 29, 1628. In his will written May 25, 1628, proved July 3, 1628, he styles himself "gentleman."

<sup>1</sup> Waters's *Genealogical Gleanings in England*, pp. 327-344.

The second daughter of Roger Glover, Ellen, is supposed to have died young, although alive in 1610, being mentioned in her grandfather's will. No reference to her is made in her father's will nor in the wills of her brothers and sisters.

The two older sons of Roger Glover, Jose and John, are supposed to have been born at Ratcliffe. Both of them received a university education. After graduation Jose pursued an ecclesiastical course, and having been admitted to holy orders, became a clergyman. John prosecuted his legal studies, and having been admitted to plead at the bar, became a barrister.

The three younger sons, Roger, Richard, and Ralph, were presumably born in London and received a commercial education, as in 1616 they were pupils in the Merchant Taylors' School.

Elizabeth, the third of Roger Glover's daughters, enjoyed so much the confidence of her father that he made her the "full and sole executrix" of his will. In her own will, proved May 7, 1643, she disposes of more than six hundred and fifty pounds.

Sarah, the youngest of Roger Glover's daughters and to whom he bequeathed five hundred pounds, married, after his death in 1634, Francis Collins. She died before the death of her step-mother in 1654, leaving three daughters, to each of whom her sister Elizabeth, in 1643, bequeathed one hundred pounds.

John Glover, the second son of Roger Glover, was very successful in his profession and accumulated a handsome fortune. He married Joane, daughter of Francis Dorrington of London, merchant. In his will, written October 23, 1648, proved October 19, 1649, he styles himself "of Lincoln's Inn, Middlesex, 'Petter' Barrister." Mr. Waters, in his *Genealogical Gleanings in England*, gives an abstract of his will, which is here quoted on account of its genealogical information and because it gives us some idea of his wealth. It reads :

“ I devise my manor of Water Newton, with the appurtenances, in the Co. of Huntingdon, and all my lands, tenements, etc. in that county unto Gamaliel Catline of Lincoln’s Inn Esq., Richard Broughton of the Middle Temple, gent., my nephew Robert Pemberton of Lincoln’s Inn, gent., and certain estates in Whaddon and other towns in Cambridgeshire to be conveyed to my said three friends by William Vaughan of Gray’s Inn, gen, my late servant, in whose name they stand as trustee. All these upon trust to allow my wife to take the profits of her jointure, to pay for the maintenance and education of my eight children in such proportion as my wife shall think meet. And there shall be raised for the portions of my seven younger children as follows, to every of my three younger sons, Charles, John and Richard, five hundred pounds apiece, to be paid them at their respective ages of one and twenty. To every of my four daughters as follows: to Elizabeth one thousand pounds, to Dorothy one thousand pounds, to Sara six hundred pounds and to Deborah five hundred pounds, at their respective ages of twenty years or days of marriage. The inheritance of certain estates in Highgate which I have purchased to be surrendered to my wife. And whereas my brother in law Mr. George Griffith did heretofore pretend that I was indebted to him, I do clear myself and, to give my mother in law and others satisfaction, protest before God that I owe him not one penny. My friend and kinsman Philip Smith Esq. hath in his hands and keeping an ancient Statute of Sir John Whitbrookes for which I have paid many years since one thousand pounds, for the debts of my said brother in law. Lands in Surrey to descend to my eldest son Francis Glover. I make my wife executrix.” By a codicil he relieves his wife of the trouble of acting as executrix and appointed his son Francis executor, “and I wish him to take administration of the goods of my brother Richard Glover deceased.”

Richard and Roger Glover became merchants in London, Richard dying only a short time before his brother John. Roger traded largely in the West Indies, much of his property being destroyed by the Spaniards in 1629 at the Island of Nevis, one of the Leeward Islands of the Lesser Antilles, southeast of St. Christopher. An abstract of his will written November 14, 1635, proved September 5, 1637, gives some idea of the extent of his trading operations. It reads:

“Roger Glover of London, merchant, being now at the Island of Meavis. William Hawkins, citizen and waxchandler of London to be overseer. Goods, etc. in the Increase of London to be disposed of for the advantage of Richard Rowe of London, Merchant, my loving brother Richard Glover of London, Merchant, and my loving sisters Elizabeth and Sara Glover, whom I appoint executors. Debts due in the Indies and formerly due in any part of the West Indies. To my niece Elizabeth Glover, daughter of my loving brother Joss: Glover fifty pounds. To William Rowe, son of the said Richard Rowe, thirty pounds. To my niece Elizabeth Pemerton forty pounds. To John Worcester ten pounds. To my friend Capt. Thomas Sparrowe, Governor of the Island of Meavis two thousand weight of tobacco. To Mr. George Upcote of the same Island five hundred weight of tobacco. To Nicholas Godsolve, Secretary, three hundred pounds of tobacco. Debts due from Thomas Littleton late Governor of the above-said Island. To James Littleton his son one hundred pounds.”

Ralph Glover, the youngest son of Roger Glover, received his education at the Merchant Taylors' School, and like his brothers probably became a merchant in London. At the death of his father in 1634 he was twenty-seven years old, and to him his father bequeathed five hundred pounds. As he is not mentioned in the wills of his brothers or sisters it is presumed he died before his brother Roger, who died in 1637.

It is apparent that the Glover family occupied a prominent position both in the professional and mercantile circles of London. The father, Roger Glover, was a respected London merchant, at the time of his death engaged in trade in the West Indies. By marriage he had become connected with other strong mercantile houses, had multiplied his opportunities and broadened his influence. His children were well educated and well fitted for the positions they were afterwards called upon to occupy. To all of them he was able to bequeath large legacies.

It will therefore be seen that Jose Glover was fortunate in his birth, and that in obtaining his education he enjoyed advantages possessed by only a few of his contemporaries. Jose Glover, the eldest son of Roger Glover, was born about 1598, presumably at Ratcliffe, Stepney, County of Middlesex, as he surrendered for the support of his stepmother "The Revercion of certaine Coppiehold Messuages, Tenements and hereditaments with their appurtenances holden of the Manor of Stebonheath," alias Stepney. As his name does not appear on the roll of Oxford graduates, and as his relations apparently are with the Cambridge graduates, he undoubtedly entered the University of Cambridge and received the degree of B.A. when about eighteen years of age. He took orders in the English Church and was a clerk when on the fifteenth of May, 1624, a draft of an act was made to settle him at Sutton in Surrey, the living being in the presentation of the Darcey family. He had married Sarah Owfield, daughter of Roger and Thomasine (More) Owfield, of London. Their children were:

- I. Roger, born in Sutton, 1623.
- II. Elizabeth.
- III. Sarah.

Sarah (Owfield) Glover died July 10, 1628, and her husband caused a monument to be erected over her remains with the following inscription:



## Reverend Jose Glover

“ Here Underlyeth interred the Corps of that virtuous and religious Gentlewoman and servant of God, Mrs. Sarah Glover, one of the daughters of Mr. Roger Owfield, Citizen of London, Late wife of Mr. Jos. Glover, Rector of Sutton in Surrey, by whom she had three children, viz.: Roger, Elizabeth and Sarah. She died July 10, 1628, ae. 30 years. In memory of whom her said husband has caused this monument to be erected, May 24, A. D. 1629.”

“ This monument presents unto your view  
A Woman Rare, on whom all Grace divine,  
Truth, Love, Zeal, Piety in Splendid hue  
With Sacred Knowledge did splendidly shine.  
Since then, examples teach; learn you by this,  
To mount the steps of everlasting bliss.”<sup>1</sup>

Jose Glover married for his second wife, about 1630, Elizabeth Harris, daughter of Rev. Nathaniel Harris, Rector of Blechingly, Surrey. Their children were :

IV. Priscilla.

V. John.

Roger Glover, the eldest son, is said to have returned to England, joined the army, in which he became captain, and to have been slain at the taking of Edinburgh Castle in 1650. Elizabeth Glover, the oldest daughter, married about March, 1644, seven months after the death of her mother, Adam Winthrop, son of Governor John Winthrop, born April 7, 1620. The following entry appears in Rev. Mr. Dunster's account as administrator of the estate of Mrs. Dunster, the widow of Rev. Jose Glover, who died August 23, 1643: “ By disbursements for the diet and apparell of Mrs. Elizabeth Glover seven months, with her marriage feast, being married to Mr. Adam Winthrop, £ 30.”<sup>2</sup> After the death in 1652 of Adam Winthrop, Elizabeth married

<sup>1</sup> Manning and Bray's *History of Surrey*.

<sup>2</sup> *Archæologia Americana*, V, 387.

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John Richards, a wealthy Boston merchant, who in 1682 was sent to England by the colony as special messenger to save the charter, and in 1692 was one of the judges appointed for the trial of persons suspected of witchcraft.

Sarah Glover, the second daughter, married, about 1648, Deane Winthrop, son of Governor Winthrop. According to Mr. Dunster's account as administrator, she lived with Mr. Dunster five years after the death of her mother. On December 26, 1649, Deane Winthrop bought the house and lands of Captain William Pierce at Pullen Point, which house is still standing, being occupied by the Winthrop Improvement Society. Priscilla Glover, the youngest daughter, married, about 1651, John Appleton, of Salem. John Glover, the younger son, was graduated at Harvard College in 1650, and went to Scotland, where he received the degree of M.D. at Aberdeen, about 1655. In a letter from London, dated March 5, 1655, John Glover writes to John Appleton: "I am now come out of Scotland, my grandmother being dead. My desire is that my sister, your wife, should have all that I have. . . . I have taken my degree of Doctor of Physic in Scotland."<sup>1</sup> He established himself as a physician in London, where he died, unmarried, about 1668.

Sarah Owfield, the first wife of Jose Glover, was a daughter of Roger and Thomasine (More) Owfield, citizen and fishmonger of London, who at his death in 1608 divided an estate of more than fifteen thousand pounds. By this marriage Mr. Glover became connected not only with the Owfield family, but also with the More, Walter, Jansen, and Gardiner families, which were among the most prominent mercantile families in London. In his will Mr. Owfield divided his property into three equal parts, one of which he gave to his wife, one to his children, and the residue of the third, after giving one thousand

<sup>1</sup> Sibley's *Harvard Graduates*, I, 210.

pounds to each of his two sons and making other bequests, he also gives to the children. At the death of Mrs. Owfield in 1638 the two sons receive nearly as much more. Besides a large number of other bequests she bequeaths "unto Roger Glover, eldest son of my daughter Sara Glover, deceased, the sum of one hundred pounds to be paid him at the age of one and twenty years, and to Elizabeth Glover, eldest daughter of Sara, deceased, the sum of fifty pounds to be paid to them at the age of one and twenty years, or days of marriage which first shall happen."

Katherine Owfield, the daughter of John Owfield, and cousin of Mrs. Glover, married Col. George Fleetwood, one of the regicides, who is said to have died in America. Sir Samuel Owfield, the brother-in-law of Jose Glover, was one of Cromwell's lords, one of whose sons, William Owfield, married Mary Thomson, daughter of Maurice Thomson, of whom we shall speak later.

By his marriage with Elizabeth Harris, Rev. Jose Glover became connected with a prominent university family. Richard Harris of Padbury, Buckinghamshire, was a scholar of Winchester College in 1550, and a fellow of New College, Oxford, in 1554. He received his B.A. in 1561 and M.A. in 1566. In 1565 he was Rector of Hardwick, Buckinghamshire. He had two sons, Nathaniel and John, and perhaps other children.

Nathaniel was at Winchester College in 1581, and was matriculated at New College, Oxford, November 4, 1586, at the age of 18. He received his B.L.L. in 1593, and D.C.L. in 1612. He was Rector of Langton, Oxford, in 1600, Vicar of Inkeborrow, Worcestershire, in 1602, Canon of Hereford, 1602-1605, and Rector of Blechingly, Surrey, from 1609 until his death in 1625. He was also, early in life, domestic chaplain to Lord Ellesmere.

On the west wall of Blechingly Church is a black marble

tablet to his memory. Over it is a lamb on an eagle's back, covered with a cap belonging to an LL.D., and below a Latin inscription. He died Good Friday, April 15, 1625, and the memorial was erected by his widow Mary. He left three sons and three daughters.

His son Edward matriculated at Brasenose College, Oxford, November 2, 1621, at the age of eighteen. He was a barrister at law of the Inner Temple, 1630, bencher, 1647, and died at his chamber in the Temple, November 28, 1651, "an was carried into the countrie to be buried."

His son Richard was born in Blechingly in 1617, scholar at St. Mary's, Winchester, in 1631, and was matriculated at New College, Oxford, in 1636. He received his B.A. June 4, 1640, and M.A. May 25, 1644. He died in Cambridge, Massachusetts, August 29, 1644.

His daughter Elizabeth, who was older than Richard, married Rev. Jose Glover.

John, a younger brother of Nathaniel, was at St. Mary's College in 1599, and matriculated at New College, Oxford, October 26, 1604, aged seventeen. He was a fellow in 1606; B.A., 1608; M.A., 1612; Proctor, 1617; B.D., 1619; D.D., 1622; Regius Professor of Greek, 1619-1622; Rector of North Crawly, Buckinghamshire, 1621; Prebendary, 1628; Warden of St. Mary's College, Winchester, 1630; Rector of Meonstoke, Hants, 1631. He died at Winchester, August 11, 1658. He had three sons at Oxford: John, 1640; Thomas, 1645; Richard, 1655.

Rev. Jose Glover, in his will, nominates "his loving uncle John Harris, Warden of the College by Winchester," one of his executors. Mrs. Glover acknowledges receipt from John Harris, "Doctor of Divinity, and Warden of the College near Winchester, one of the executors," of five hundred pounds, part of the proceeds of Glover's English estate.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Lechford's *Note Book*.

St. Mary's College was founded by William of Wykeham, Bishop of Winchester, having been granted permission by Pope Urban, in his Bull issued May 9, 1380. Scholars were admitted after eight and not over twelve years of age, and were obliged to leave when completing their eighteenth year, unless on the roll for New College, Oxford, when they could remain one year more. The college building was erected outside of the town wall, and the first building of Harvard College resembled it in many ways.

It will therefore be seen that Rev. Jose Glover was connected with many of the influential families in England. Through his father and two of his brothers he had acquired a knowledge of the West Indies; through the marriage of his sister Susan he became connected with the gentle family of Pemberton, and came under the influence of Roger Williams; through his brother John he became acquainted with legal families; through his marriage with the daughter of Roger Owfield he became connected with influential trading families, some of whom were largely interested in shipping goods to Virginia and New England and in bringing back the products of those countries; and through his marriage with Elizabeth Harris he became connected with families whose members were prominent in church and college work. He himself had received a university education, possessed an ample fortune, and was rector of a parish. Jose Glover certainly was fortunate in his surroundings.

We have seen that in May, 1624, he had become the Rector at Sutton, in Surrey, and was presumably a churchman in good standing. What were the particular influences which induced him to become a nonconformist do not appear. That he proclaimed these ideas from the pulpit is proved by a statement of Rev. William Kniffen, a distinguished Baptist clergyman, who says that when, at about eighteen years of age, "he was studying the grounds of Nonconformity, he received much satisfaction

from the preaching of Mr. Glover, who afterwards went to New England." He was a member of "The Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England," to the stock of which he subscribed fifty pounds.<sup>1</sup> Associated with him were his brother-in-law, Joseph Owfield, and Richard Davis, whom he styles in his will "my ancient friend." They each subscribed fifty pounds.

In the printed *Calendar of British State Papers, Domestic Series, 1634-1635*, is an abstract of a petition addressed to Archbishop Laud by Edward Darcey, patron of the living of Sutton for the appointment of a successor to "Jesse Glover, clerk," and of Laud's answer to this petition. At a Stated Meeting of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, March 24, 1904, the Rev. Henry A. Parker communicated a copy of the original document, made by Mr. Albert Matthews, who had recently visited the Public Record Office. It reads:<sup>2</sup>

"To the most reverend Father in God y<sup>e</sup> Lord Arch-  
B<sup>ish</sup> of Canterbury his Grace primate & Metropolitan of all  
England

The humble peticon of Edward Darcey Esq<sup>r</sup> Patron of the  
Parsonage of Sutton in the County of Surrey.

Humbly sheweth to your grace, That y<sup>e</sup> pet<sup>r</sup> understandinge that Josse Glover Clerke the now incumbent of the said Parsonage refused to publish the booke intituled The Kinges Ma<sup>tie</sup>'s Declaracon to his Subct<sup>s</sup> concerninge lawfull sportes to bee used, did in his desire to have due obedience given to the royall comannde of his sacred Ma<sup>tie</sup>'s cause the same booke to bee published in the said Church by a neighbo<sup>r</sup> Minister. And whereas the said M<sup>r</sup> Glover for his contempt in that behalfe and for other inconformities is and standes suspended by lawfull

<sup>1</sup> *Records of the Massachusetts Bay Colony*, I, 37<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> *Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts*, VIII, 334-335.

authoritie ab officio et beneficio by reason whereof the said Cure is left without a Pastor.

The pet: humbly praies That yo: grace will give him leave to nominate an able and conformable minister to supply the said Cure untill the said Glover shall either through his conformity bee restored, or otherwise bee deprived of the said Parsonage.

And y: pet: (as in duty bound)  
shall daiely pray etc

DECEMBER: 12

1634

If this Peticon<sup>n</sup> meaning be to have another of his Nomina<sup>o</sup>n onely to supplye y<sup>e</sup> Cure during Josse Glovers Suspension, it belongs to y<sup>e</sup> Ld<sup>e</sup> B<sup>p</sup> of Winston or his Chancello<sup>r</sup> to make y<sup>e</sup> Substitu<sup>o</sup>n, to whom I leave it. But if his meanin be, y<sup>t</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Glover hath any purpose to leave y<sup>e</sup> Benefice, he must resigne it into y<sup>e</sup> handes of y<sup>e</sup> Diocesan, and then M<sup>r</sup> Darcy as Patron may present. But for my self it noe waye concernes me to meddle w<sup>th</sup> it.

W : CANT.

ENDORSED

M<sup>r</sup> Darcies peticon ab<sup>t</sup>

M<sup>r</sup> Glover ”

Attention is called to the fact that although in the original document Mr. Glover's Christian name is written Josse, yet in the calendar it is printed Jesse.

The “declaration” above referred to, issued by James I of England, in 1618, is popularly known as the *Book of Sports*. It signifies the pleasure of the King that on Sundays, after divine service, “no lawful recreation should be barred to his good people, which should not tend to the breach of the laws of his kingdom, and the canons of his church.” It was ordered to be read in the parish churches, but the order was not enforced, and

the King's design was allowed to drop. By republishing this *Declaration* in 1633, and enforcing with great severity the reading of it by the clergy in their churches, Charles I excited among the Puritans a degree of indignation which contributed largely to the downfall of the monarchy. In 1644 the Long Parliament ordered all copies of it to be called in and burned.

The above petition shows that Mr. Darcey had hopes that Mr. Glover would submit and be restored to the rectorship. Mr. Glover, however, neither submitted nor resigned, but kept the matter under consideration. While under suspension he evidently turned his attention toward New England. He was undoubtedly in sympathy with Richard Mather, Daniel Maud, Thomas Shepard, John Wilson, John Norton, Peter Hobart, and Hugh Peter, in the dissenting principles which they preached and proclaimed. In order to practise these principles in safety all of these ministers crossed the ocean to New England during the year 1635. At this time passengers intending to embark for New England were obliged by statute to take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy. To avoid this the ministers were compelled to embark secretly. By means of letters, private journals, and Winthrop's *History of New England*, the names of the ships in which they made the voyage, Rev. Peter Hobart excepted, are known, and almost the day of their arrival. The names of the ministers, however, are not found on the passenger lists, with the exception of Rev. Thomas Shepard, who masquerades as "John Sheppard Husb'm." Previous to the coming of these ministers there were, in the Massachusetts plantation, ten churches in full working condition, having among them fifteen pastors and teachers. Nine of them were graduates of Cambridge University, nine of them had held rectorships in England, and only three were over fifty years old.<sup>1</sup> It is not surprising, therefore, that Mr. Glover should have thought of

<sup>1</sup> Dexter's *As to Roger Williams*, p. 52.



joining this illustrious company, many of whom were personal friends.

That Mr. Glover was actually considering the advisability of proceeding to New England is shown by a passage in Bradford's *History of the Plimoth Plantation*. When narrating the events which occurred in 1635 Bradford says :

“ Amongst the other bussinesses that Mr. Winslow had to doe in England, he had order from the Church to provide and bring over some able and fitt man for to be their minister. And accordingly he had procured a godly and worthy man, one Mr. Glover ; but it pleased God when he was prepared for the viage, he fell sick of a feaver and dyed. Afterwards, when he was ready to come away he became acquainted with Mr. Norton, who was willing to come over, but would not engage him selfe to this place otherwise then he should see occasion when he came hear.”

This statement by Bradford is inaccurate, and shows that when it was written his memory was at fault. It must have been written some time after the death of Glover, which was not known in Boston previous to the arrival of the ship in which he had embarked, which was in September or October, 1638. Bradford's *History*, which is chiefly in the form of annals, is not a journal, nor does the author claim to have written the events which he records upon the same day on which they took place. In a note to the *History*, dated 1646, he says :

“ Full little did I thinke that the downfall of the Bishops, with their courts, cannons and ceremonies, etc., had been so neare, when I begane these scribled writings (which was aboute the yeare 1630, and so peeced up at times of leasure afterwards), or that I should have lived to have seene or heard of the same.”

The statement of Mr. Bradford regarding Mr. Glover evidently was “ peeced up at times of leasure.” The engagement of Mr. Norton to supply the pulpit, who came over with

Mr. Winslow, arriving at Plymouth in October, 1635, proves that Mr. Glover did not enter into any engagement with Mr. Winslow. The statement that death prevented Mr. Glover from keeping the engagement is also erroneous, as Mr. Glover did not die until three years later. The statement is important only as showing that Governor Bradford was aware that Mr. Glover was intending to come to New England, but had become confused as to his dates. The writer is of the opinion that the interview between Winslow and Glover took place in Boston in 1634, and not in London in 1635. On July 9, 1634, Messrs. Bradford, Winslow, and Smith, their pastor, came to Boston to confer with the magistrates and ministers about the troubles on the Kennebec River. Roger Williams, who had been supplying the pulpit at Plymouth for nearly three years, had returned to Salem only a few months before, and knowing that there would be an opportunity for a minister at Plymouth, may have recommended Glover to Winslow at this meeting. Mr. Winslow was about to sail for England, not only on account of the Kennebec business, but also to bring about a settlement with the English partners of the Plymouth Company. An interview with Glover would undoubtedly assist Winslow very much, as Glover could furnish the latest information as to the condition of affairs in England. It was probably at this interview that Winslow offered Glover the Plymouth pulpit. Glover, however, did not accept Winslow's invitation, presumably because: first, he was a stockholder in the Massachusetts Bay Company, and would naturally prefer to be connected with that company; and second, although a nonconformist, yet he was not a separatist.

In what year and under what conditions Mr. Glover came to Boston are matters of conjecture. On April 22, 1641, Captain Edward Gibbons of Boston, and Mrs. Elizabeth Glover of Cambridge, widow, sold to Mr. Maurice Thomson, of Lon-

don, their shares in the ship "Planter" of London. The association of these names shows a community of interests, and opens up a large field for speculation and imagination. It would seem to indicate that Mr. Glover was interested in the material as well as the spiritual welfare of the new country.

Mr. Maurice Thomson was a wealthy London merchant, who was engaged in commercial ventures to New England and Canada. In a letter to John Winthrop, Jr., dated December 26, 1631, Francis Kirby writes:<sup>1</sup> "Capt. B. who was employed by my cousin Maurice Thomson and company, for the trade of beaver in the River of Canada, is now arrived here. . . . He hath brought in here about three thousand pounds' weight of beaver, and they are now hastening to set forth a small ship only for that river, hoping to be there before Capt. Kirk, who (I hear) is to fetch his men from Quebec, and yield up the castle again to the French this next summer." If Thomson could be induced to join the Massachusetts company, he would add great strength to the colony. Therefore, on May 22, 1639, the General Court passed an order "for encouragement of Mr. Maurice Thomson, merchant, and others, who intend to promote the fishing trade." Concerning this order, Winthrop says:

"6. 27. 1639. A fishing trade was begun at Cape Ann by one Mr. Maurice Tomson, a merchant of London: an order was made that all stocks employed in fishing should be free from public charge for seven years. This was not done to encourage foreigners to set up fishing among us (for all the gains would be returned to the place where they dwelt) but to encourage our own people to set upon it, and in expectation that Mr. Tomson, etc., would, ere long, come settle with us."

Maurice Thomson belonged to a very prominent London family, and was the eldest son of Robert and Elizabeth (Harn-

<sup>1</sup> Winthrop's *New England*, I, 370.

sett) Thomson, of Watton in Hertfordshire. His brothers were Col. George Thomson,<sup>1</sup> who lost a leg fighting against the King, Paul Thomson, Sir William Thomson, and Major Robert Thomson, who was connected by marriage with the Owfield and Glover families, as in his will he mentions "my cousin Oldfield" and "my brother Glover." Major Robert Thomson married Margaret Hopkins, sister of Edward Hopkins, Governor of Connecticut. He was in Boston in 1640, and became the owner of a lot of land on the north side of Bennett Street, and was one of the purchasers of the land and buildings where the first meeting-house stood. He returned to England and, in 1649, became a charter member of the "Society for the Promoting and Propagating the Gospel of Jesus Christ in New England." In his will, proved April 30, 1657, Edward Hopkins left the residue of his estate "for the breeding up of hopeful youths in the way of learning, both at the Grammar School and College." He also bequeaths, "within six months after the decease of my wife the sum of five hundred pounds, to be made over into New England, according to the advice of my loving friends Major Robert Thomson and Mr. Francis Willoughby. . . . in farther prosecution of the aforesaid public ends," etc. This five hundred pounds was paid to Harvard College under a decree in chancery, in 1710. Major Robert Thomson was appointed one of the overseers of the will. His daughter Elizabeth Thomson married William Ashurst, who in 1693 was chosen Lord Mayor of London. Henry Ashurst, father of William, "had the chief hand in settling the corporation for the Propagation of the Gospel in America, of which he was treasurer; and also zealously promoted the translation of the Bible into the Indian language."<sup>2</sup>

Maurice Thomson was Governor of the East India Company

<sup>1</sup> Waters's *Gleanings*.

<sup>2</sup> Morant's *History of Essex*, II, 296.

in the reign of King Charles the First, as was also his brother, Sir William Thomson, in the reign of King Charles the Second. His only son, Sir John Thomson, Baronet, was created Baron Haversham, May 4, 1696. Of the four daughters of Maurice Thomson, the eldest, Katherine, married Sir John Witwrong, Knight and Baronet; and the second, Mary, married William Owfield, son of Sir Samuel Owfield and nephew of Rev. Jose Glover. The third married Nicholas Corsellis, and the fourth Joseph Alston, Esq. In his will Maurice Thomson leaves to his son, Sir John Thomson, "all my freehold manors, lands, tenements and hereditaments in England, Ireland, Barbados, Antego, St. Christophers, Virginia, the Carebee Islands and elsewhere." In *Genealogical Gleanings*, I, 74, Mr. Waters contributes the following interesting note concerning the Thomsons:

[Information of Hugh Squier. Heard three men of quality, one seemingly a Dutchman, rejoice that the Dutch had done so well, and attribute it chiefly to the care and diligence of Maurice Thomson and his brother Major, in supplying them with information of the motions of the English fleet: they said their men served much better than Scott for his thousand guilders a year. Finds that Maurice Thomson was always violently against kingly government, was intimate with the Protector, sat on some of the high courts of justice, and sentenced some of the beheaded lords to death, so that he is incapable of bearing any office. He was a poor man in Virginia but got a great estate chiefly from the king's party. He, Hugh Peters and Nicholas Corsellis, a Dutchman, went over in the beginning of the War to collect money in Holland, for the distressed Protestants in Ireland, and was always in great favor with the Dutch. As to Major, can hear of no one of that name, but a rich Mr. Major who married his daughter to the Protector's son Richard, but he is no brother of Maurice Thomson, so thinks they must mean his brother Major Robert Thomson, who was so great with Crom-

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well that he nearly married his daughter: he began with nothing, rose high enough to purchase £2200 a year in bishops' lands, and lost it in the Restoration, so that he brags that he hates not the persons, but the office of bishops; he is bold, full of malice, and embittered against government; he was six or seven years a navy commissioner for the Protector, so that he knows all the ways of the navy, and is thus able to commit this treason. Thinks their houses should be searched, and Council should consider whether to seize them. Asks directions in case he should again meet the three men whose discourse he heard. Westminster, June 24, 1666.]

Edward Gibbons, the third owner of the ship "Planter," was one of the most famous characters in the colony, and was distinguished both in military and business enterprises. His disposition, although of an adventurous and roving nature, was not vicious. After living some time at Hilton's settlement on the Piscataqua River, he joined Morton at Mount Wollaston, attracted as much by the great profits to be obtained by hunting and trading with the Indians as by the open-air amusements which were peculiar to Merry-Mount. Undoubtedly he was absent on a hunting or trading expedition when Morton was arrested in June, 1628, but being one of "the more modest" of the band which remained about the place, was present when in the following September Endicott hewed down the Maypole and admonished Morton's associates "to looke ther should be better walking." That the character of Edward Gibbons was different from that of his associates at Merry-Mount would seem to be proved by the fact that, with Governor Bradford of Plymouth, he attended the famous gathering of the Salem Church, on August 6, 1629, where he experienced a change of heart. The story is told by Joshua Scottow in *A Narrative of The Planting of the Massachusetts Colony Anno 1628*, printed in Boston in 1694. It reads:

"At which Convention, the Testimony which the Lord of

all the Earth bore unto it, is wonderfully memorable by a Saving Work upon a Gentleman of Quality, who afterwards was the Chieftain and Flower of *New England's* Militia, and an Eminent Instrument both in Church and Commonwealth; he being the younger Brother of a House of an Honourable Extract, his Ambition exceeding what he could expect at home, Rambled hither: Before one Stone was laid in this Structure, or our Van Currier's Arrival, he was no Debauchee, but of a Jocund Temper, and one of the Merry-Mount Society, who chose rather to Dance about a *May pole*, first Erected to the Honour of *Strumpet Flora*, than to hear a good sermon; who hearing of this Meeting, though above Twenty Miles distant from it, and desiring to see the Mode and Novel of a Church's Gathering; with great studiousness he applyed himself to be at it; where beholding the orderly procedure, and the method of standing forth, to declare the Work of God upon their Souls, being pricked at the Heart, he sprung forth among them, desirous to be one of the Society, who though otherwise well accomplished, yet divinely illiterate, was then convinced and judged before all; the secrets of his heart being made manifest, fell down and Worshipped God, to their astonishment, saying, That God was in them of a truth."<sup>1</sup>

About this time Gibbons married and settled in Charlestown, which he represented in the General Court in 1635 and 1636. His first child, Jerusha, was born in Charlestown, August 5, 1631. About 1637 he removed to Boston, which he represented in the General Court in 1639. On March 9, 1637, he was chosen lieutenant of the Boston Company. In 1646 he was the commanding officer of the Suffolk regiment, with the title of sergeant-major, and in 1649 he succeeded John Endicott as major-general of all the militia in the colony. He died on December 9, 1652. Edward Johnson, in his *Wonder*

<sup>1</sup> Adams's *Three Episodes of Massachusetts History*, I, 355.

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*Working Providence of Sion's Savior in New England, London, 1654*, says of him: "He is a man of a resolute spirit, bold as a lion, a Major-General, very forward to promote all military matters, his forts all well contrived, and batteries strong and in good repair, his artillery well mounted and cleanly kept."

It is not known that Edward Gibbons and Jose Glover were related. During the latter part of the sixteenth century one of the prominent families in the County of Kent, England, was that of Gibbon. There were four brothers, namely: Robert, John, Harry, and Edmund. Before 1595 Ann Gibbon, a daughter of John Gibbon, had married Richard Glover, presumably the brother of Roger Glover and uncle of Jose Glover. The baptismal name of Richard was quite common in the Glover family. Richard Glover was one of the sons of Roger. John Glover, brother of Jose, named one of his sons Richard. Mary Glover, widow of a Richard Glover, died in London in 1661. Her husband Richard had adventured largely "beyond the seas" and died in Virginia. Among their children were Richard and Ann, which would seem to indicate that he was a son of Richard and Ann (Gibbon) Glover. Therefore, if Edward Gibbons was a descendant of one of the four Gibbon brothers, there was a distant relationship between Edward Gibbons and Jose Glover.

It has been shown that Rev. Jose Glover was closely connected with the powerful Owfield, Pemberton, and Thomson families, all of which were strongly opposed to the King. Naturally Mr. Glover sympathized with his kinsmen, and not only opposed the King, but disagreed with his minister Archbishop Laud, in his efforts to bring about uniformity. For his non-conformity he was suspended from his rectorship and went to New England.

In what year Mr. Glover crossed the ocean is not known, but it is supposed to have been in 1634, as Mr. Darcey, in his petition to Archbishop Laud, which is dated December 12, 1634,



intimates that considerable time had elapsed since Mr. Glover had been suspended. It would be the desire of Mr. Glover, for various reasons, to cross the ocean if possible in his own ship, and therefore we look to see if the "Planter" made a voyage during this year. Upon examining the records, we find that on February 22, 1633-4, the "Planter" with nine other vessels, having on board passengers bound for New England, was lying in the river Thames awaiting permission from the Council of State to proceed, which was not granted until April 7. Mr. Glover is known to have been in England in 1634, as on March 13, 1633-4 he was one of the witnesses to the will of Francis Drake of Esher, County of Surrey, who died on March 17, four days later. Mr. Drake left "To John Drake, my cousin William Drake's son, twenty pounds to be sent unto him in New England"; also "To Johanna Hooker, who is now in New England, thirty pounds at her day of marriage."<sup>1</sup> Johanna Hooker probably was the daughter of Rev. Thomas Hooker of Cambridge, Mass., who married Rev. Thomas Shepard.

It will be seen that there was an excellent opportunity for Mr. Glover to cross the ocean in his own vessel, which undoubtedly he improved. The "Planter" carried as part of her cargo government stores which had been purchased by Mr. John Humphrey, the bill of lading for which was dated April 7, 1634. He and his wife, Lady Susan, daughter of the Earl of Lincoln, were probably passengers. As Humphrey and Glover were both stockholders in the Company, and were thus actuated by common interests, the inducements for Mr. Glover to cross the ocean at this time were very strong, and the arrival of the "Planter" in Boston Harbor in June, 1634, would seem to mark the month and year of Mr. Glover's arrival in New England.

Their arrival was very opportune. Mr. Humphrey had been present in the council chamber when Mr. Cradock, having been called upon to produce the charter and having replied that it had been taken to New England four years before, was directed to send for it at once. Mr. Glover was a member of the Company and probably was cognizant of the action of the council. Mr. Humphrey and Mr. Glover could furnish exact information concerning the condition of affairs in England, and materially aid the colonial government in adopting the measures most suitable for its preservation. It was undoubtedly due to their information that the governor and assistants, when they received Mr. Cradock's letter containing a copy of the council's order requiring the return of the charter, adopted a waiting policy and returned answer to Mr. Cradock, that it would be necessary to refer the matter for action to the General Court, which would be held in the following September. This letter was carried to Mr. Cradock by Mr. Winslow, who went to England in July, in one of the returning ships, among which was the "Planter."

At the court held in September, it was ordered that six hundred pounds be raised "towards fortifications and other charges," which were hastened, says Winthrop, "because there came over a copy of the commission granted to the two archbishops, and ten others of the council, to call in all patents." This act surely indicated armed resistance, and certainly foreshadowed, if it was not the initial act of, the American Revolution.

Mr. Glover evidently was so well pleased with the new country that he concluded to become a citizen and take up his residence here. Probably his first step was to secure the house-lot of half an acre, to which he was entitled as an adventurer of fifty pounds in the common stock of the Company, as well as a farm of two hundred acres. If application were made within ten days after his arrival, and not granted, he

was at liberty to select for himself from land not already granted.<sup>1</sup> Presumably he was granted the house-lot on the north corner of the present Court and Washington streets, where the Ames Building now stands, which may have been forfeited by a former grantee. He also acquired three acres of land fronting on the present Cambridge Street, between West Cedar and Charles streets.

There is no record of these grants because no records of early grants were kept. It was not until April 1, 1634, that, at a court held in Boston,

“It was further ordered, that the constable and foure or more of the cheife inhabitants of every towne (to be chosen by all the Freemen there, att some meeteing there,) with the advise of some one or more of the nexte Assistants, shall make a surveyeing of the howses, backside, corne feildes, moweing ground, & other lands, improved, or inclosed, or graunted by speciall order of the Court, of every Free inhabitant there, & shall enter the same in a booke, (fairely written in words att length & nott in Figures,) with the severall bounds and quantities, by the nearest estimacion, & shall deliver a transcript thereof into the Court, within sixe monethes nowe nexte ensueing, & the same soe entered and recorded shall be a sufficient assurance to every such Free inhabitant, his and theire heires and assignes, of such estate of inheritance, or as they shall have in any howses, lands, or Frank-tenements.”

“The like course shalbe taken for assurance of all howses & towne-lotts of all such as shalbe hereafter enfranchised, and every sale or graunt of such howses or lotts as shalbe from time to time entered into the said booke by the said constable & foure inhabitants or their successors (whoe shalbe still supplied upon death or removeall,) for which entry the purchaser shall pay sixe pence, and the like summe for a copy thereof, under the hands of the said surveyers, or three of them.”

<sup>1</sup> *Records of Massachusetts, I, 43.*

The towns, however, did not obey the order, and the next year the General Court called their attention to their neglect.

“Att a Generall Court, holden att Newe Towne, March 4<sup>th</sup>, 1634-5, —

“Further, it is agreed, that the order made in Aprill, 1634, for the assuring of lands & towne lotts for Freemen, shall forthwith be putt in execucion, & that those which are not Freemen that have taken, or shall hereafter take, their oathes respectively, shall have the same assurance of land as in that order is provided for Freemen.”

Only one town complied with the order, namely Newe Towne, or Cambridge, which has the honor of being the first to hand in a record of the lands and houses owned by its inhabitants and others. According to the Colony Records “Oct. 27, 1636. Newe Towne presented a booke of their records under the hands of Will: Andrews, constable, John Benjamin and Will: Spencer.”

The townsmen also failed to record their purchases or sales, and at a “General Court, by Adjournment from 3:17: to the First of the 6<sup>th</sup> M<sup>o</sup> called August, 1637,” it was ordered “That some course bee taken to cause men to record their lands, or to fine them that neglect.”

At a Quarter Court held at Boston on May 4, 1639, “all townes had respit to bring in the transcripts of their lands until the nexte Courte.”

At a General Court held at Boston September 9, 1639, it was ordered

“That there bee records kept of all wills, administrations, & inventories, as also of the dayes of every marriage, birth, & death of every person within this jurisdiction.

“To record all mens houses & lands, being certified under the hands of the men of every towne, deputed for the ordering of their affaires

“Mr. Steven Winthrop was chosen to record things.”

At a Quarter Court held at Boston on December 3, 1639, Concord, Lynn, Dorchester, and Weymouth were fined five shillings “for not giving in a transcript of their lands.” On March 1, 1641-2, Charlestown, Sudbury, and Dedham handed in transcripts of their lands.

On June 7, 1642, Boston, Dorchester, Braintree, and Watertown “had time graunted them till the 4th Month, 1643.”

At a General Court held at Boston Sept. 27, 1642 “Mr. Stephen Winthrop hath liberty to go for England,” and on Nov. 13, 1644, “Mr. Aspinwall is chosen Recorder till the next Court of Election.”

When Boston handed in the transcript of its lands is not known, but from the fact that the manuscript copy, or at least the first 111 pages, which contain the record until 1645, was apparently written at one time and is in the handwriting of William Aspinwall, and from certain other references in the text, the inference is irresistible that the compilation was made by Aspinwall shortly after his election as Recorder, Nov. 13, 1644, and presented to the General Court in 1645.<sup>1</sup>

The officers in the various towns who compiled these transcripts gave to the books whatever title seemed appropriate. The Cambridge book is entitled

*The Regestere Booke of the Lands and Howses in the  
Newtowne 1635,*

but it is popularly known as

*Proprietors' Records.*

On the cover of the Boston book is written

*Possessions of the Inhabitants of Boston,*

but when printed the book is entitled

*The Book of Possessions.*

<sup>1</sup> See Introduction to the *Second Report of the Record Commissioners of the City of Boston*, second edition.

In Cambridge the person to whom a house lot had been granted must build upon it within six months or his lot was forfeited. In Boston the condition was different. On November 30, 1635, at a general meeting of the townspeople,

“It is agreed that all such as have allotments for habitations allotted unto them shall build thereon before the first month next called March, or else it shall be in the power of the allotters to dispose of them otherwise.”

It is very probable that Mr. Glover gave orders for the immediate building of a house on the corner of Washington and Court streets, which he intended should be his residence when he had brought his family to Boston. Many statements have been made regarding the ownership of this estate. In the *Book of Possessions* Mr. Dunster is named as the owner. Whitman, in his *History of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company*, says that Mr. Dunster arrived in Boston toward the latter end of the summer of 1640, and for a short time resided “in his own estate at the North-East Corner of Court Street and Washington Street.” In a publication of one of our local historical societies in 1900, the statement is made that Mr. Dunster, after his arrival, “resided in Boston at the corner of Washington and Court Streets, where the Ames Building now stands.” It is not surprising, therefore, that Mr. Dunster is frequently referred to as having been the owner of this property in early days. These statements, of course, are erroneous. Mrs. Glover had a life-interest in her husband's estate, and nearly two years before the arrival of Mr. Dunster took up her residence in Cambridge, and the feoffees rented the Boston property. Mr. Dunster never owned this property, and as he remained in Boston only a few weeks after his arrival, probably did not enter the house. The only connection he ever had with this property was in the discharge of his duties as one of the feoffees of the estate of Rev. Jose Glover, whose widow he married in 1641.

All of Glover's Boston properties were sold, September 29, 1645, by the feoffees to Theodore Atkinson, for £214.<sup>1</sup>

That Mr. Glover was an inhabitant of Boston, and a householder in 1635, is shown by the passage of certain laws regarding new comers. Immigration in 1635 had been so large, and so many applications had been made to become inhabitants of the town, that certain orders were passed, intended to protect the rights of the older inhabitants. The following extracts from the Town Records show some of these orders :

“ The 30th of the 9th moneth called November, 1635. Att a generall meeting upon publique notice. Imprymis: It is agreed that noe further allotments shalbe graunted unto any new comers, but such as may be likely to be received members of the Congregation.

“ Item : That none shall sell their houses or allotments to any new comers, but with the consent and allowance of those that are appointed Allotters.”

“ The 14th of the 10th moneth, 1635.

“ Att a generall meeting uppon publique notice.

“ Item : That Mr. William Hutchinson, Mr. Edmund Quinsey, Mr. Samuel Wilbore, Mr. William Cheeseborowe and John Ollyver, or four of them, shall, by the assignments of the Allotters, lay out their proportion of allotments for farmes at Rumley Marsh, whoe there are to have the same.”

It took nearly two years to survey and lay out the lots, but the committee having at last made its report the selectmen took action as follows :

“ The 8th of the 11th moneth, called January, 1637.

“ Also, whereas att a Generall Meeting the 14th of the 10th moneth, 1635, it Was by generall Consent agreed upon for the laying out of great Allottments unto the then Inhabitants, the same are now brought in bounded as followeth :

<sup>1</sup> *Suffolk Deeds*, I, 254.

“ These are the great allotments at Rumley Marsh and Pullen Point.

“ Mr. [Jose] Glover, nyne and fortie acrs : bounded on the North with Mr. Tuttell, on the East with the Beach, on the South with Mr. Cole, and on the West with the highway,” etc.

That the “ Mr. Glover ” referred to in this allotment was Rev. Jose Glover is proved by the fact that on September 17, 1639, “ Elizabeth Glover of Cambridge, in New England, widdowe,” sells these forty-nine acres “ neare Rumney Marsh ” to John Newgate.<sup>1</sup> The above extracts are positive proof that on December 14, 1635, Rev. Jose Glover was one of “ the then Inhabitants of Boston,” as, in order to have been recognized as an inhabitant entitled to share in the division of land, and to have been granted one of the “ great allotments,” he must have been a resident a reasonable length of time, must have been the owner of a house and land, and contributed fifty pounds to the stock.

During his stay in Boston Mr. Glover bought a “ windmill in Lynn with the appurtenances which formerly was the possession of John Humphrey, Esq.,” his fellow-passenger in the “ Planter.” On May 22, 1645, the “ feoffees of Josse Glover late of Sutton in the County of Suffolk ” sold this property to Samuel Bennet of Lynn, for £60.<sup>2</sup>

Whether Mr. Glover had any fixed purpose in coming to Boston, or simply wished to employ his time in travelling during his suspension, does not appear. He seems, however, to have soon become interested in education, and thereafter to have employed all his energies in preparing plans for its promotion. To carry out successfully these plans required careful consideration, and necessitated a change in his project of the immediate removal of his family to Boston.

In 1635 the colonists were ready to consider other things

<sup>1</sup> Lechford's *Note Book*, p. 186.

<sup>2</sup> *Suffolk Deeds*, I, 66, 77.



than the building of houses, clearing the land, or tilling the soil. One of the more important questions which was agitating the public mind was the education of the children. It was decided very early to have a public school where writing and arithmetic should be taught, and on April 13, 1635, at a general meeting of the townspeople of Boston, "It was then generally agreed upon that our brother, Philemon Pormont, shalbe intrated to become scholemaster for the teaching and nourtering of our children." The people were also thinking and consulting how to establish a college, "dreading to leave an illiterate ministry to the churches, when our present ministers shall lie in the dust." It would be necessary first to establish a grammar school, in which the boys should be prepared for the higher education, and on August 6, 1636, the richer inhabitants of Boston assessed themselves to pay the salary of the Rev. Daniel Maud, who had been chosen master of the free school. As the college would be open to students from all the towns, contributions for its establishment were solicited from the whole colony. The assistance of the General Court was asked, which, on October 28, 1636, voted to give four hundred pounds to help along the good work. Even this generous donation was not sufficient, and assistance was asked from friends in England.

The establishment of preparatory schools in the several towns, and the final founding of the college, was the result of long-continued and earnest efforts on the part of the townspeople. Their earlier deliberations undoubtedly were watched with a great deal of interest by Mr. Glover, and perhaps he took a part in them. Education was an important part of his church work. He was himself a graduate from a college, and several of his kinsmen held important offices in schools and colleges in England. When, in 1635, the project of founding a college was being discussed, naturally the question arose, who should be at its

head? Its chief executive officer should be capable not only of superintending its educational, but also its financial affairs. As the college would be dependent upon contributions, and as funds would have to be solicited in England, its president must necessarily be fitted to teach and able to present in a convincing manner its requests for aid. He must be a man in whom the people had confidence, and to whom they would be willing to intrust their contributions. Was it not natural that their eyes should turn toward Mr. Glover? Here surely was a man who possessed the needed qualifications. In his principles a nonconformist clergyman, well educated and well qualified to teach, possessed of ample means, well versed in business affairs, and intimately connected with the class of people it was desired to reach, what more could be expected? Undoubtedly he could profitably employ in England the two or three years that necessarily must pass before the college could open its doors to students.

Whether or not the presidency of the proposed college was offered to Mr. Glover, or any other arrangements were made with him, does not appear, but his actions would seem to indicate that such was the fact. Instead of sending for his family to come to New England with some favorite captain, after having prepared comfortable quarters, as was frequently the case, he himself returned to England and, according to the instructions of Archbishop Laud, informed the bishop that he intended to leave the benefice, and resigned it into his hands. Mr. Darcey, who had the presentation of the living, had evidently been waiting for Mr. Glover's decision, as will appear from the following entry in the parish register of the church in Sutton :

“Henry Wyche being a Nonregent Maister of Arts in the University of Cambridge, was inducted by Thomas Pope into the Rectorie of Sutton, June 10th An. Dom., 1636; after a Resignation made of the same Rectorie by Jose Glover, who

was much beloved of the most, if not all, and his departure much lamented of the most, if not all."

The friendly relations between the Darcey and Glover families apparently were not interrupted, as Elizabeth Glover, sister of Jose, in her will, proved in 1643, remembers Lady Abigail Darcey.

Mr. Glover was now free to carry out the plan which he evidently had in his mind when he returned to England. He is said to have visited several of the counties of England, where he preached, and in his sermons advocated the founding of a college in the colony, and solicited funds in its aid. It is reported that Mr. Glover did this in response to the request of some of the prominent members of the colony, who were actively engaged in this educational project.

Absolute proof that Mr. Glover was engaged during these years in promoting the interests of the college would seem to be presented by the fact that he acted as its agent in purchasing type for the printing plant which was to be an appendage to the college. He knew by personal experience how powerful the press could be, and realized how great a help it might be made to be for both the church and college. At his own expense he purchased a printing press, and with fifty pounds or more sent to him by friends of the college he procured a font of types for the press. All honor to the "benefactors to the first font of letters for printing in Cambridge." The contributions were made when ready money was not plenty, and when there were many worthy objects asking for aid. The names of the American contributors, collected by President Hoar in 1674, and recorded upon page 34 of *College Book No. I*, are Major Thomas Clarke, Capt. James Oliver, Capt. Lake, Mr. Stoddard, Mr. Freake, and Mr. Hues. Would that the names of the contributors in Holland also were known.

We have no means of knowing what was the amount of the

contributions secured by Mr. Glover, or to what purpose they were applied. It may have been owing to the solicitation of Mr. Glover that Mr. Edward Foord, a citizen and leather merchant of London, was moved to help the college. In his will made August 24, 1636, proved January 6, 1641, is the following clause :

“ Also I give towards the erectinge a free schoole in New England, if anie such worke be done, that the Companie doth owe me, which is in true right fiftie poundes ; and yet I gave fifty poundes towards the worke which I value at nothing ; and yet I am content to give tenn poundes more towards a free schoole, there to educate youth, yf anie such thing bee done.”

Mr. Foord was a leather merchant of London, a merchant adventurer of England, and a member of the “ Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay.”

When the committee of the college had so well matured their plans that it was reasonably sure that it would be opened in the autumn of 1638, we find Mr. Glover trying so to arrange his affairs as to be present. That he intended to make a complete change of residence is evident from the fact that he arranged to transport to New England all his family, his steward, and his household servants. He engaged a master-mechanic, printers, and men-servants. He bought large quantities of paper and other supplies for the printing press. He also arranged to carry a large number of books, probably his private library, which would be found very desirable in his new surroundings. To provide against certain contingencies, on May 16, 1638, he made his will, which reads :

“ I, Jose Glover of London, being by the providence of God forthwith to embark mysef for some parts beyond the seas, and taking into consideration the frailtys and uncertainty of my life and the many dangers and casualtyes whereunto the same is subject, and knowing it to bee the duty of every Christian so to

settle and dispose of that estate wherewith the Lord hath blessed him, as that peace may be preferred and all manner of discord be prevented doe make this my last will and Testament, in manner and forme following.

“ First I commit my soule and commend it into the hands of Almighty God, believing to bee saved by the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, as all the saynts and servants of God have done in all ages and times. I acknowledge Him to bee God, my Savior alone who is able to save unto the utmost those that do believe in him. And my body I commend to the earth whence it came, to be buried in such a decent manner as to my wife shall seem meet and convenient, stedfastly believing that my soul shal be joynd againe and reunited unto my body and that with bodily eyes I shall see the Lord, who shall change my vile body and make it like unto his glorious body by the power whereby he is able to subdue all things to himselfe. For my outward estate which the Lord hath graciously bestowed upon mee, I doe thus bequeath it. It is my will and pleasure that my dear and loving wife, whom I have ever found very faythful unto me should enjoy all my estate of Lands and chattels and goods both in New England, likewise all my estate in Old England during her life. And it is my will that she shall at her charge maintaine and liberally educate all my children. And after her decease my will is that the same shall bee and remaine unto my two eldest sonnes, Roger and John, to be equally divided between them, if any of them dye that my will is that the survivors shall enjoy it. To my three daughters, Elizabeth, Sara and Priscilla, I doe hereby give and bequeath the summe of four hundred pounds a peece. And whereas it was lately ordered and decreed by the Court of Chancery, according to form and conveyances executed by me in that kind that I should give or leave unto my younger children three hundred pounds a peece, Now in obedience to the said order and decree

and in full performance of it, my will and meaning is that my three daughters when they come to be married, or to full age, shall release to Mss. Edmund Davis Esquier and Thomas Yonge, Merchant of London, their heyres, and assignes, all their severall and respective rights interest, clayme and demand of, in and to all the Messuages Lands, Tenements and Hereditaments lyeing and being in the severall parishes of Durend and Stone, in the County of Kent. And my will is that if any of the said Children shall refuse to seal and deliver as his or her act and deed General release unto Edmund Davis Esquier and Thomas Yonge, Gentlemen, being hereunto required by the said Edmund Davis and Thomas Yonge or either of them, their or either of their heyres and assignes, that then the Legacy hereby given to him or her or them so refusing, shall bee utterly void, and of none effect, anything herein contained to the contrary in anywise notwithstanding. I doe further bequeath and give to my servant, John Stedman my ancient faithful servant, the summe of fiftie pounds, and desire my wife to give to my servants something according to her discretion. I doe further give to all my brothers and sisters that shall bee living, except my sister Collins, the summe of five pounds. And I bequeath to my loving and dear friends Mr. Joseph Davyes and his wife the summe of five pounds a peece. I doe nominate Executors of this my last will and Testament John Harris, my loveing uncle, Warden of the Colledge by Winchester and Richard Davis my antient loveing friend, to and for the use benefit and behoofe of my wife dureing her life, allowing unto my two said eldest sonnes for their maintenance and livelyhood, so long as she shall live, And after her decease then to and for the use benefit and behoof of my said two eldest sonnes, Roger and John. I doe entreat these my Executors of this my last will to see the same in all things to be observed. And for their care and paines to be taken therein I doe give

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and bequeath to the said John Harris and Richard Davis forty shillings.”<sup>1</sup>

In several official documents written by different persons and in the publications of various authors the Christian name of Mr. Glover appears without uniformity in spelling. It has been variously given as Joseph, Joas, Josse, Joss, Jose, and Jesse. The variation is undoubtedly due to the whim of the clerk or writer. Mr. Glover was an educated person, and knew how to write. It would therefore seem that the proper way to spell his Christian name should be the way in which he wrote it in his will, and as it is written in the parish register in Sutton.

The will, which is preserved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, is wholly in the handwriting of Mr. Glover. In the course of it his name occurs three times, and in each instance it is written *Jose Glover*.<sup>2</sup>

All arrangements for leaving England having been completed, late in July or early in August Mr. Glover, with his family and retinue of servants, sailed for New England in the ship “John,” of London. The college, however, was not to have the benefit of the services of this talented divine, for, as Bradford says, “he fell sick of a fever and died,” probably of smallpox, with which disease many of the ships that went to New England that year were infected, and of which several of the passengers died. It is worthy of remark that Mr. Winthrop, in his *Journal*, makes but one reference to Mr. Glover. It is as follows:

“1639, Mo. 1. A printing house was begun at Cambridge by one Daye, at the charge of Mr. Glover, who died on seas hitherward.”

Naturally, Mr. Glover's death would not be known in England until the return of some of the ships, and therefore it was

<sup>1</sup> *New Eng. Hist. and Gen'l Register*, XXIII, 136-137.

<sup>2</sup> See *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, April 28, 1875.

not until December 22, 1638, that his will was proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury.

The following extracts from the *Records of the Colony of the Massachusetts Bay in New England* prove that, although not in the country, Mr. Glover was considered a freeman of the colony, and entitled to all his rights and privileges. At a General Court held at Boston, September 6, 1638, two thousand one hundred acres of land were divided among eight persons. After this division the following order was passed:

“For avoiding the trouble of this Court about granting of lands, and the more equall proceeding therein, —

“It is ordered that Mr. Bellingham, the Treasurer, Mr. Israel Stoughton, Mr. Richard Browne, John Johnson and Abraham Palmer, or any 4 or 3 of them, shall have power to take the names of all such as will demand allowance of lands, and shall consider of the ground and reasons of their demaunds, and thereupon shall set down the names of all such as they shall find fit to bee allowed to them, having regard to their adventures in the common or joint stock, and their abilities to improve lands, and also to such lands as have bene already granted them, either by the towne or by the Court, and that the countrey at large bee not burthened to provide lands for the inhabitants of such townes as have land enough to supply them, except other considerations require it; and that they consider that, though the first planters were allowed 50 acres for each person, yet this benefit is not to be allowed to all others, and what they shall do hearin to make certificate thereof to the next Court; they are withall to consider that men cannot have their full proportions at the present.”

Who made a demand on behalf of Mr. Glover, or what were the grounds or reasons for the demand, does not appear, but at a meeting of the General Court held at Boston, June 6, 1639, seven thousand five hundred acres of land were divided among



twenty-one prominent citizens, namely: "Mr. Hugh Peters, five hundred acres; Mr. Symon Bradstreate, three hundred acres; Mr. John Endecott, Esq., five hundred acres; Mr. Thomas Allen, five hundred acres, in regard of Mr. Harvard's gift, Leift. Ral. Sprague, 100 acres, haveing borne difficulties in the beginning; Capt. Wm. Traske, two hundred acres, in regard of much service; Capt. Edward Gibbons, three hundred acres, in regard of old and long service; Mr. Natha. Eaton, five hundred acres, if he continew his employment with us for his life, to bee to him and his heires," and others. Mr. John Wilson, pastor, of Boston, was granted one thousand acres, and Mrs. Glover in the right of her husband received six hundred acres, Mr. Wilson alone receiving as many. What were the great services which Mr. Glover had rendered to the Colony which entitled him to so large a grant? Was it not because for two years he had been devoting his time and energies to the founding of the college? Had he not been advocating its claims and soliciting funds for its support among the friends of the Colony in England? And when death overtook him, was he not on his way to be present at the opening of the college and perhaps to assist in its management?

## **The Beginnings of the College**

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## The Beginnings of the College

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**W**HILE Mr. Glover had been advocating the claims of the college in England, its friends at home had been active in soliciting funds, selecting a site, and securing buildings. As it was to be for the benefit of the whole colony, the assistance of the government was asked, and in response the General Court passed the following orders. On October 28, 1636, "Agreed to give £400 toward a schoale or colledge, whereof £200 to bee paid the next yeare & £200 when the worke is finished, and the next Court to appoint where and what building." On November 15, 1637, "The colledg is ordered to bee at Newetowne." On November 20, 1637, "For the colledge, the Governor, M<sup>r</sup> Winthrop, the Deputy, M<sup>r</sup> Dudley, the Treasurer, M<sup>r</sup> Bellingham, M<sup>r</sup> Humfrey, M<sup>r</sup> Herlakenden, M<sup>r</sup> Staughton, M<sup>r</sup> Cotton, M<sup>r</sup> Wilson, M<sup>r</sup> Dampport, M<sup>r</sup> Wells, M<sup>r</sup> Shepard & M<sup>r</sup> Peters, these, or the greater part of them, whereof M<sup>r</sup> Winthrop, M<sup>r</sup> Dudley or M<sup>r</sup> Bellingham, to bee alway one, to take order for a colledge at Newetowne." On May 2, 1638, "It is ordered, that Newetowne shall henceforward be called Cambridge." And on March 13, 1638-9, "It is ordered, that the colledge agreed upon formerly to bee built at Cambridge shalbee called Harvard Colledge."

Undoubtedly these orders of the General Court were of great assistance in securing aid in other quarters, but the college in its first ten years did not experience much benefit from the government's promise to give four hundred pounds, as, according to the account of the treasurer of the colony, in 1644, of the original grant of £400, a remainder of £350 was still due the college. Mr. Quincy in his *History of Harvard University*,

Vol. I, p. 41, says: "During the first seventy years, the College derived no aid from the General Court, towards the erection of its buildings or the increase of its funds, in consequence of any grant or donation. These were altogether the result of individual munificence. . . . Neither does it anywhere appear that the original grant of £400 was ever specifically paid."

Who were the individuals who contributed the funds for the purchase of the land on which the college buildings, later, were erected is unknown. Either no record was kept, or, if kept, it has disappeared. The early records of the college are contained in three books denominated *College Books Nos. I, III, and IV*.<sup>1</sup> *College Book No. I* is a collection of old accounts, records, and papers. Who was the recorder is unknown. Its earliest pages contain only old accounts of repairs and expenditures on college chambers and studies of the date of 1640 and 1644.

*College Book No. III* is a compilation, consisting chiefly of extracts from *College Book No. I*, with some additions, and probably was made by Thomas Danforth, who was appointed Treasurer of the College in 1650. After January, 1683, the entries are in the handwriting of President John Leverett.

*College Book No. IV* contains records from July 23, 1686, to September, 1750.

On the first page of Book III is a memorandum relative to the appropriation by the General Court of four hundred pounds for the college in 1636, to John Harvard's legacy, and to certain other gifts.

On the second page is a memorandum of the appointment of Mr. Nathaniel Eaton. It reads:

"Mr. Nathaniel Eaton was chosen Professor of the said school in the year one thousand six hundred and thirty-seven, to whose care the management of the donations before mentioned were intrusted, for the erecting of such edifices as were

<sup>1</sup> Quincy's *History of Harvard University*, I, 449-459.

meet and necessary for a College, and for his own lodgings: an account of his management wherof is as followeth."

In his account Mr. Eaton's only receipt is for two hundred pounds, from the legacy of Rev. John Harvard, and all his expenses relate to the construction of the first college building. It is very probable, therefore, that the land for the college buildings had been purchased before his appointment.

It has been said that one of the reasons why the General Court ordered the college to be at Cambridge was because it would be "under the orthodox and soul-flourishing ministry of Mr. Thomas Shephard." If this be true, the closer to Mr. Shepard the college could get the better it would be for it. In 1636 the owner of the estate next adjoining Mr. Shepard's estate on the west removed to Hartford, and his land and buildings were for sale.

In the *Proprietors' Records* of Cambridge, under the date of September 5, 1635, this property is described as follows:

"William Peyntree. In the Towne one House with backside and garden about halfe a rood Thomas Hooker south east Brayntree street south west James Olmstead: north west Cowyard Lane northeast."

"Moore in Cowyard Rowe one Cowhouse with a backside aboute one acker: Thomas Hooker southeast Cowyard Lane southwest James olmstead north west, the Comonn Pales: northeast."

James Olmstead also removed to Hartford and sold his house and land to Edward Goffe. On March 12, 1637-8, the surveyors of Cambridge enter in the records Mr. Goffe's possession, as follows:

"Edward Goffe. In the towne one house & backside about halfe a roode Mr. Eaton one the south East. Brantry street southwest. Cowyard lane Northwest, and the Common gate lykewise to Charlestowne northwest."

“It. In Cowyard rowe, one Barne and other out houses, with a backsyde aboute an Acre of land, John Bets on the Northwest, Cowyard lane one the Southwest Mr. Eaton southeast.”

These extracts show that the Committee on the College had purchased for its site the property of Mr. Peyntree, and had placed it under the supervision of Mr. Eaton. The purchase must have been made after November 20, 1637, the date of the appointment of the Committee, and March 12, 1637-8, the date of the surveyors' entry of Mr. Goffe's possession. Mr. Eaton's appointment would naturally follow the purchase of Mr. Peyntree's property. At the time, the selection of Mr. Eaton was supposed to be a most excellent one.

Nathaniel Eaton was born about 1609, and was the sixth son of the Rev. Richard Eaton, who on April 9, 1597, baptized in the church of the Holy Trinity, Coventry, Warwickshire, of which he was pastor, John Davenport, who came to New England in 1637, arriving at Boston on June 26. Proceeding to New Haven, Mr. Davenport was the first minister there, his pastorate lasting from 1638 to 1667. Returning to Boston, he was pastor of the First Church from 1667 to his death in 1670.

Another son of Rev. Richard Eaton was Theophilus Eaton, who was born at Stony Stratford, Oxfordshire, in 1589, while his father was pastor there. He became a prominent merchant in London, and was a member of the “Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England,” of which he was chosen Assistant, May 13, 1629. Being unable to accompany Winthrop and his associates to New England, he resigned, and on March 18, 1629-30, Mr. William Coddington was chosen in his place. For several years he represented Charles I at the court of Denmark. He came to New England with the Rev. John Davenport, and settled in the colony of New Haven, of which he was governor for several years.

A third son of Rev. Richard Eaton was the Rev. Samuel Eaton, who is supposed to have accompanied Theophilus Eaton on his passage to New England. He was the colleague of the Rev. John Davenport at New Haven for a short time, but soon returned to England.

Nathaniel Eaton was educated on the foundation of Westminster, whence he was elected to Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1629. He did not take his degree, but, proceeding to Franeker, in the province of Friesland, Netherlands, he was in 1633 an advanced pupil of Dr. William Ames, who held the chair of Divinity at Franeker University. It was while studying with Dr. Ames that he wrote and published *Inquisitio in variantes Theologorum quorundam Sententias de Sabbato et die Dominico, proponit sub praesidio D.D. Guil. Amesii, Nathanael Eatonus, Anglus. Franekerae, 1633*. It is a small duodecimo, containing ninety-six pages. During Eaton's sojourn in Franeker, the Rev. Hugh Peter was associated with Dr. Ames as a teacher, and Rev. John Davenport was living in Amsterdam, having been obliged to leave London on account of nonconformity. Peter arrived at Boston in 1635, and Davenport followed in 1637. Eaton took holy orders, married, and with his wife and children came to Boston, presumably with his brothers, in 1637.

Immediately upon his appointment Mr. Nathaniel Eaton, with his wife and children, occupied the Peyntree house and busied himself in making the changes about the house and land which were necessary in order properly to care for the expected students. The general management of the college affairs probably was intrusted to a special committee, consisting of the two members of the general committee who resided in Cambridge, namely, Rev. Thomas Shepard and Mr. Roger Harlakenden, while the superintendence of the buildings and the instruction and care of the students was the duty of Mr. Eaton.

On May 2, 1638, the town of Cambridge showed its interest



in the college by granting it two and one-half acres of land in the Old Ox Pasture, on the south side of the Charlestown Path, now Kirkland Street, & extending to the rear of its own, or the Peyntree lot. This gave the college full control of a strip of land from Braintree Street to the Charlestown highway. To Mr. Eaton was granted two and two-thirds acres on the north side of the Charlestown Path, for a houselot. The following memorandum accompanied this grant to Professor Eaton :

“The 2 acres &  $\frac{2}{3}$  above mentioned to the Professor is to the Towns use forever for a publick scoole or Colledge. And to the use of Mr. Nath. Eaton as long as he shall be Employed in that work, so that att his death or ceassing from that work he or his shall be allowed according to the Charges he hath bene att in buylding or fencing.”<sup>1</sup>

In less than two years it became the property of the college. It was afterwards sold, but years later it again became the property of the college, and on this land now stand the Hemenway Gymnasium and the Lawrence Scientific School. Mr. Eaton was also granted four acres near Pine Swamp Field.

Mr. Eaton did not build on the lot granted for a houselot, but occupied the house on the Peyntree lot, which had been remodelled to accommodate his family and the students. For nearly two years Mr. Eaton's management of the affairs of the college was very satisfactory to the committee. On June 6, 1638, the General Court granted him five hundred acres of land “if he continue his employment with us for his life, to be to him and his heirs.” He became a member of the church in Cambridge, and on June 9, 1638, was made a freeman of the colony.

Early in September, 1639, he engaged Mr. Nathaniel Briscoe, “a gentleman born to be his usher and to do some other things for him, which might not be unfit for a scholar.”<sup>2</sup> He had not

<sup>1</sup> *Cambridge Town Records*, p. 32.

<sup>2</sup> *Winthrop's History of New England*, I, 371-374.

been with him above three days but he fell out with him for a very small occasion, and, with reproachful terms, discharged him, and turned him out of his doors; but it being about eight of the clock after the Sabbath, he told him he should stay till the next morning, and some words growing between them, he struck him and pulled him into his house. Briscoe defended himself and closed with him, and, being parted, he came in and went up to his chamber to lodge there. Mr. Eaton sent for the constable, who advised him first to admonish him, etc., and if he could not, by the power of a master, reform him, then he should complain to the magistrate. But he caused his man to fetch a cudgel, which was a walnut tree plant, big enough to have killed a horse, and a yard in length, and, taking his two men with him, he went up to Briscoe, and caused his men to hold him till he had given him two hundred stripes about the head and shoulders, etc., and so kept him under blows (with some two or three short intermissions) about the space of two hours, about which time Mr. Shepherd and some others of the town came in at the outcry, and so he gave over."

Eaton was charged with cruelty not only to Briscoe but also to his scholars, brought before the court, tried, and convicted. Many of the elders pleaded for him and "desired of the court that he might be pardoned and continued in his employment," but the court "because of the scandal of religion, and offence which would be given to such as might intend to send their children hither, agreed to censure him, and put him from that employment." The record of the court reads as follows:

"1639, 9 September. Mr. Nathaniell Eaton being accused for cruell and barbaros beating of Mr. Naza: Briscoe, and for other neglecting and misusing of his schollers, it was ordered, that Mr. Eaton should bee discharged from keeping of schoale with us without license; and Mr. Eaton is fined to the countrey £66, 13s, 4d, which fine is respited till the next Court, unless

he remove the meane while. The Court agreed Mr. Eaton should give Mr. Naza : Briscoe £30 for satisfaction for the wrong done him, and to be paid presently.

“Captain Jeanison and Mr. Mayhew were appointed to call Mr. Nathaniell Eaton to account the beginning of the next weeke, and to desire Mr. Samuel Sheopard and Mr. Joseph Cooke to help them the best they can.”

Eaton, however, did not wait to be arrested, but fled to Piscataqua, where he was apprehended by the governor there, and held to await the coming of the constables from Massachusetts. Apparently unconscious of the ridiculousness of his story, Winthrop soberly narrates the wonderful adventure which happened to the four doughty Massachusetts constables in attempting to bring back their prisoner, and how cleverly he outwitted them. After escaping from them, Eaton boarded a vessel about to leave the harbor, and sailed away to Virginia. The General Court finally disposed of his case as follows :

“1639, 5 November. Increase Nowell, Captain William Jeanison, and John Bridge are appointed to take account of the estate of Mr. Natha : Eaton, to dispose of the cattle, receive the money, take prooffe of the debts, and bee accountable to the Courte.”

“1640, 7 October. Mr. Treasurer and Mr. Duncan are appointed a committee to take the account of Mr. Nathani : Eatons busines from Captain Jeanison and Goodman John Bridge.”

A few words in defence of Mr. Eaton from the aspersions of Cotton Mather and others. At this time corporal chastisement was the usual mode of punishment in the great schools of England and of other parts of Europe. In discipline Mr. Eaton simply followed the custom of the time. In 1656 a college law was passed, authorizing the punishment of all misdemeanors of the students either by fine or whipping. Even at

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this late day, February 20, 1906, corporal chastisement has not been abolished in the schools, as the School Committee of Boston is investigating the case of a headmaster who has a record of 456 whippings within four months. In justifying punishment by the rod, Eaton used the same argument in 1639 that the Boston schoolmaster used in 1906. When asked why he punished his scholars so severely, Eaton replied "that he had this rule that he would not give over correcting till he had subdued the party to his will." The Cambridge schoolmaster of 1639 and the Boston schoolmaster of 1906 had the same ideas in regard to the discipline of their scholars. It is proper to add that the case of the Boston schoolmaster is exceptional, as there are other schoolmasters in Boston who have records of no whippings in their schools for several years. As far as his scholars were concerned, Mr. Eaton's practice was the custom of the time. In regard to complaints about the commons, the recent change in the management of Randall Hall at Harvard University shows that it is very difficult to satisfy the demands of the students in regard to food. As far as Mr. Briscoe is concerned, Mr. Eaton's side of the story has never been told, nor do we know what was the provocation. But whatever the provocation, Eaton exceeded his authority and was amenable to the court, as corporal punishment could be inflicted only by a justice of the peace, in the presence and with the consent of one of the assistants.

In regard to the severity of the beating of Briscoe, has not Winthrop exaggerated a little? Surely such an assault as he describes would have been more than sufficient to have killed Briscoe, and yet he does not appear to have been badly injured. In 1656 John Betts, of Cambridge, beat a servant with a plough staff so severely that shortly after he died, and yet Mr. Betts' fine was only £15. This does not excuse Eaton, but shows that public opinion at that time did not agree with Cotton

Mather's. Mr. Eaton was fined and dismissed, not so much for the beating and whippings as for the publicity, and from fear that the good name of the college would suffer. If he had not beaten Briscoe and had not been brought into court, it is doubtful if his whippings of the students would have been noticed. The elders were willing to overlook his offence and continue him in office, and even the Court acknowledged that its sentence was too severe by remitting one-third. Eaton's great mistake was in running away. This was due to his proud and sensitive nature, which felt very keenly the censure of the Court. Mr. Eaton was not of a cruel or quarrelsome disposition. On the contrary, his after life proves that he was greatly interested in the uplifting of his fellowman, but that his forte was preaching rather than teaching. Having been accepted as minister by one of the churches in Virginia, he sent for his wife and children. Winthrop says: "Her friends here persuaded her to stay awhile, but she went notwithstanding, and the vessel was never heard of after." It is very probable that she expected to return, as she left behind a child only about a year old. Neither Winthrop nor Mather show any sympathy for him in his great affliction, and speak very disparagingly of him, but their opinions are not warranted by the facts. The New England ministers were displeased because he accepted the pastorate of a Virginia church, and accused him of being a turncoat and a traitor. There is no evidence that he came to America on account of nonconformity, nor is there any evidence that he was not agreeable to the members of the Virginia church, whose opinions in regard to religious matters differed from those of the members of the New England churches. How long Eaton remained in Virginia is not known. In 1647 he appeared before the University of Padua as a candidate for the degrees of Doctor of Philosophy and Medicine, which he obtained. His thesis, which was printed, is entitled: *Oratio habita a N. E., pro laurea doctrali, sibi et*

*perexcellenti R. Danbaeo in academia Patavina publice concessa . . .  
anno 1647. [Padua? 1647.]*

After the Restoration of Charles II, in 1661, he held the vicarage of Bishop's Castle, Shropshire. While in residence here, he published a volume of poems entitled *De Fastis Anglicis, sive Calendarium Sacrum. The Holy Calendar. Being a treble series of epigrams upon all the Feasts observed by the Church of England. To which is added epigrams upon other Daies. London, 1661.*

From this book the following specimens of his verse have been selected :

ASCENSION

Come down, blest Savior! 't is no sin to pray  
Thee down, I hope, upon Ascension day!  
So to descend, as I would have thee do,  
Is not to fall, but mount unto  
A zenith which thou ne'er before couldst gain —  
Even my proud heart, which rebel lusts have ta'en,  
And mann'd against thee — this, my God, is it  
That I would have thee come and see, and get.  
Get this stronghold into thy hands, and make  
Her high raised bulwarks at thy storming shake,  
And droop their heads; make my stout thoughts to fall  
Prostrate before thy glorious feet, and all  
The powers within me to lie low, and be  
Subject, henceforth, unto no king but thee.  
Do this, dear Lord, and my glad soul shall say,  
To me thou ne'er ascendedst till to-day.

ON ST. GEORGE

See here, in George's portraiture, a true  
Description of what Christians ought to do:  
No civil wars, no brothers' blood imbrues  
His righteous hands, he no such foe pursues;

The cross his ensign is, his faith his shield,  
 His sword the Scripture, his own heart the field,  
 His enemy the dragon — him alone  
 He thinks it worth his while to set upon : —  
 O God, that we, who George our champion call,  
 Save such as these would fight no fights at all !

Eaton was unfortunate and got into debt, and was arrested in 1665 on the suit of Francis Buller, of Shillingham, Cornwall.

On March 18, 1668, he was preferred to the richly endowed rectory of Bideford, Devonshire. On account of debts he was lodged in the king's bench prison, Southwark, where he died in 1674. He had married a second time, as, from the letters of administration granted December 7, 1674, to Mary Eaton, his widow, it appears that he had been allowed to retain possession of his rectory.

During the year 1639 Eaton had superintended the building of the new hall which was being erected from the legacy of Rev. John Harvard. After his dismissal in September, "The charge of carrying on the building was committed to the management of Mr. Samuel Shepard, and the *College Book* was put into his hands."<sup>1</sup> Who attended to the instruction and care of the students during the second college year does not appear, but it is very probable that it was under the supervision of Rev. Thomas Shepard, assisted by Mr. Elijah Corlet, afterward the master of the grammar school.

In the summer of 1640 Rev. Henry Dunster arrived in Boston and was invited to remove to Cambridge and assume the presidency of the college. He was the son of Henry Dunster of Bury, Lancashire, and was baptized November 26, 1609.<sup>2</sup> He was educated at Magdalene College, Cambridge, England, receiving the degree of A.B. in 1630 and A.M. in 1634. Although trained for the ministry, it is not known that he took charge of

<sup>1</sup> *College Book*, No. III, p. 3.

<sup>2</sup> *The Register of the Parish Church of Bury in the County of Lancaster*. p. 62.

a parish, but after a few years spent in teaching he emigrated to New England. Evidently his reputation as a scholar had preceded him, as the committee of the college lost no time in trying to secure him for the head of the new institution of learning. He accepted the invitation, and under his administration the college prospered and acquired a high reputation.

There has recently been brought to light, and printed in the *Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts*, III, 417-419, a memorial in Mr. Dunster's handwriting, which not only fixes the date of his arrival in Boston, but also throws a great deal of light upon the condition of affairs at the college at this time. It is dated December, 1653, and is addressed "To y<sup>e</sup> hon<sup>rd</sup> Commissioners for y<sup>e</sup> College." It reads in part :

"Honored and respected gentlemen

"The 27 of 6<sup>m</sup> 1640. About 10 magistrates & 16 Elders cald mee (arrived som 3 weeks before & a meer stranger in the Country) to undertake the instructing of the youth of riper years & literature after they came from grammar schools, & Mr. Eliot fully wittness that they then promissed which I demand, yea with suitable advance of the stipend in case I should marry : which to my satisfaction was payd mee the first year. No further care or distraction was imposed on mee or expected from mee but to instruct. For the building was committed to Mr. Hugh Peeter, Mr. Sam. Shepheard, and Mr. Joseph Cook, who prudently declined the troble and left it to the two first. They also, when they had finished the Hall (yet without screen table form or bench) went for England, leaving the work in the Carpenters' and masons' hands without Guide or further director, no floar besides in and above the hall layd, no inside separating wall made, nor any one study erected throughout the house. Thus fell the work upon mee, 3<sup>d</sup> 8<sup>ber</sup> 1641 : which by the Lord's assistance was so far furthered that the students dis-



persed in the town, and miserably distracted in their times of concourse, came into commons into one house, 7<sup>ber</sup> 1642, and with a 3<sup>d</sup> burthen upon my shoulders, to bee their steward, and to Direct their brewer, baker, buttler, Cook, how to proportion their commons. A work then acceptable to all sides, easing as well their parents a third part of their charges as the students of endless distractions. Under these 3 works, viz : The education of Youth ; the building, repairing and purchasing of suitable housing for us ; and the regulating the servants in their work, wages and accounts : the Lord hath supported us from the beginning ; to the end of the year 1652. And that without burthening the Colony any penny given, askt or bestowed at my motion to the carrying on of the College work, but that which was before my time already the College own estate, or since hath from benefactors from abroad been bestowed, of which wee give account how it is bestowed and not spent : so that wee are at an hour's warning ready to shew what and where every gift is not ingulfed, but visibly by God's blessing extant.

“Petitioned I confess many times have I ; for reparation and enlargement of building as our good God hath increast the number of students, when wee have not had where to bestow them : And when the Colony could not relieve us, God hath sent supplies even from poor Cygriotea to enlarge our room.”

It will be seen from this memorial that, in addition to instructing the young men, Mr. Dunster had been obliged to superintend the building of the new Hall, which, although begun in 1639, yet, owing to lack of funds, was only so far advanced in September, 1642, as to allow of the use of the lower floor for commons. The chambers and studies were not ready for occupancy until the next year. According to *College Book No. 1*, several of these were finished at the expense of the students who were to occupy them.

Mr. Dunster was expected to reside in Cambridge and was to be provided with lodgings. At first, undoubtedly, he occupied rooms in the Peyntree house, which had been vacated by Eaton. But on June 22, 1641, he married Mrs. Glover, and for a time the question of lodgings was settled, as he took up his residence in the Glover mansion. After the death of Mrs. Dunster, Aug. 23, 1643, and the marriage of Elizabeth Glover, the second child of Rev. Jose Glover, in March, 1644, Mr. Dunster evidently asked the college authorities to provide him with a president's house as, on November 13, 1644, the General Court ordered "that Mr. Dunster, president of the college at Cambridge, shall have £150 assigned unto him, to be gathered by the Treasurer for the college out of the money due for the children sent out of England, to be expended for a house to be built for the said president, in part of the £400 promised unto him for his use, to belong to the college."

The money, however, was not forthcoming, and as Mr. Dunster was very anxious to change his residence, having married in 1644 a second time, he appealed to his friends and was successful in securing sufficient funds with which to build. In "Considerations . . . why he should not be compelled at once to quit the President's house," submitted to the General Court, November 10, 1654, he refers to this house as follows:<sup>1</sup>

"The house I have builded upon very damageful conditions to myself, out of love for the College, taking country pay in lieu of bills of exchange on England, or the house would not have been built: and a considerable part of it was given me, at my request, out of respect to myself, albeit for the College."

The house was ready for occupancy in 1645, and to this house the president removed with his new wife. Its site would seem to be definitely marked, as in 1724 a resolution was passed in the General Court which reads: "Whereas the College is now

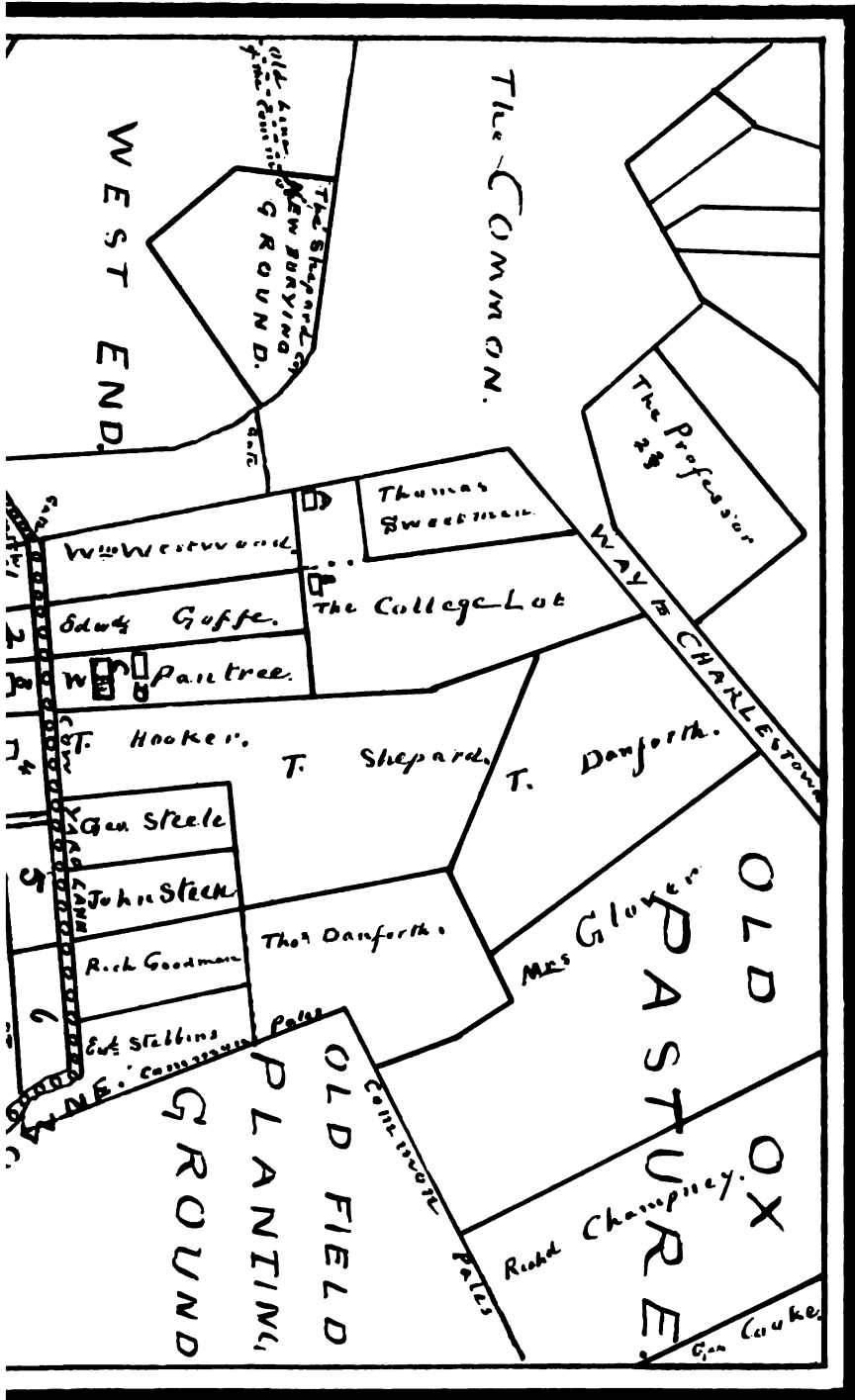
<sup>1</sup> Quincy's *Harvard University*, I, 19.

without any President's house, it being removed when Massachusetts College was built," etc. Undoubtedly it was built upon "land intended for the College," and in front of it was the way leading to Menotomy. Massachusetts Hall, therefore, was situated a little south of the first president's house. The first thought, naturally, is that this lot was not worthy of being selected on which to build the president's house, that it was a rear lot, and that the house would be too far removed from the centre of the activities of the town. But if it be remembered that all the lots on the college side of Braintree Street, now Massachusetts Avenue, easterly from Harvard Square to Quincy Street, had been allotted as early as 1635; that these grants were a rood and an acre in size, the rood upon which the house was built bordering upon the street, and the acre in the rear being used for farm buildings and gardens; that a short distance in the rear of these lots was the great highway from Charlestown to Watertown, which had been travelled before Newtowne had been selected as a place for residence, and which as it crossed the Common, intersected the highway from the present Harvard Square to Menotomy, now Arlington; it will be seen that this lot was very desirably situated, as nearly all the travel going to or coming from Charlestown, Arlington, or Watertown passed in front of it. As compared with Braintree Street, the "Way to the Common," as the road in front of this lot was known, was a great thoroughfare, while Braintree Street was only a side street, whose easterly continuation was known as "Field Lane" and "Highway to the Oyster-bank."

It is very probable that Mr. Dunster's house stood six feet back from the street, following the custom of those who built "within the town." In 1633, at a general meeting of the townspeople, it was ordered that all the houses in the bounds of the town shall range even and stand just six feet on each man's own ground from the street. Although his house was outside the







Drawn by GEORGE LAMB, 1906

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limits of the town, he undoubtedly conformed to the rule. The building of his house on this portion of the lot caused him, a few years later, much trouble. The lot had been "intended for the college," but apparently it had not been improved. A few years later certain complications occurred, by which the town was compelled to give the rood of land upon which the house stood, to another party, and it was not until 1661 that the college secured possession, and then only by purchase. The story is as follows: In the division of the town lots in 1632 William Westwood was granted a lot on which to build a house, on the corner of Braintree Street and the Way to the Common. He was also granted, August 5, 1633, another lot in the rear of the first lot for a cowyard. These lots are described as follows in *The Regestres Booke of the Lands and Howses in the Newtowne, 1635*, known as *Proprietors' Records*:

"William Westwood. In the Towne, one Lott about a rood to sett a house on James Olmstead on the southeast Cowyard Lane on the northeast Woode-streete on the northwest and Braintree streete on the southwest.

"This lott forfeited.

"Moore. In Cowyard row about one acer James Olmstead on the southeast the Comon on the northeast the highway to the Common on the northwest and Cowyard Lane on the southwest."

On January 7, 1632-1633, at a meeting of the townsmen, it is ordered that whosoever is granted a lot in the town, and doth not build upon it within six months, the town shall be at liberty to grant his lot to whomsoever will improve it.

For reasons unknown, Mr. Westwood did not build on the houselot, and it reverted to the town. Apparently it remained unoccupied for several years. At a Quarter Court, held at Boston December 4, 1638, "The towne of Cambridge was fined 10 shillings for want of a watch house, pound and stocks, and time was given them till the next Courte." On this for-



feited lot the town built a watch house, and as the lot was somewhat higher than the surrounding land it was known as "Watch-house Hill."

In 1635 Mr. Westwood owned and resided on the lot on the southwest corner of Holyoke and Winthrop streets. Before 1639 this had been sold to Mr. John Betts, who in 1642 was in possession also of Mr. Westwood's acre in Cowyard Row, and of several other lots which, in 1635, are recorded as in the possession of Mr. Westwood. It is probable, therefore, that Mr. Betts purchased all of Mr. Westwood's properties when he removed to Connecticut. Mr. Westwood is supposed to have been a member of the Braintree Company, which arrived in Cambridge in 1632. He went to Hartford with Rev. Mr. Hooker, where he was frequently chosen Selectman and Deputy to the General Court.

In the *Proprietors' Records* the surveyors for 1642 describe the acre in Cowyard Row, which had formerly belonged to Mr. Westwood, as follows:

"John Betts. By the Towne one Acre of land more or less. Edward Goffe East, the watchhousehill south, Comon West, the land intended for the Colledge north."

The first meeting-house in Cambridge was built in 1632, and was used for civil as well as ecclesiastical purposes, as appears by the following record:

"The 24th of December, 1632.

Ann Agreement made by a Gennerall Consent for a mounthly meeting. Imprimis, that Every person undersubscribed shall meet Every second Monday in Every mounth within the meetinghouse, In the afternoone within half an houer after the ringing of the bell," etc.<sup>1</sup>

It stood near the southwest corner of Dunster and Mount Auburn streets. It was probably built of logs, and its roof

<sup>1</sup> *Cambridge Town Records*, p. 4.

covered with boards. In 1649 it was in need of repairs, and on February 18, at a general meeting of the inhabitants of the town, it was

“Voted and agreed by a general consent that the meeting house shalbe repaired with a 4 square rooffe, and covered with shingle and the charges thereof levied upon the Inhabitants of the towne by Equall rate; Also Edw. Goffe, Tho. Marret, Jno. Stedman, Robt. Holmes, & Tho: Danforth, are chosen by the towne to oversee and carry on this worke, to agree with workmen, and to levie the charge of there ingagements for the worke, upon the Inhabitants of the towne.”

For reasons not stated it was thought advisable not to repair the old building, but erect a new one, and on March 11, 1649-50, at a general meeting of the whole town it was then

“Voted and agreed that the five men chosen by the Towne to repayre the meeting house shall desist from the same and agree with workmen for the building of a new house, about forty feet square, and covered as was formerly agreed for the other, and levy the charge of there Ingagements upon the Inhabitants of the Towne. It was also then voted and Generally agreed that the new meeting house shall stand on watch house hill.”

Mr. John Betts complained that in building the new meeting-house he was damaged by encroachments on his land, and on January 13, 1650-51,

“The Townsmen doe consent that one of the Elders and two of the Deacons, at the request of John Betts shall Determine whether in Equity any satisfaction ought to be rendered by the towne unto the Said John Betts for the land on which the new meetinghouse standeth and with ther Determination the said John Betts promiseth to set downe Satisfied.”

What the “Determination” was does not appear, but in 1661 the college purchased, with sixty pounds given in 1658

by Messrs. John and William Paine of Boston, Mr. Betts' land. It is described in the deed as being an acre and a rood in size, and as situated north of the meeting-house lot, and bounded by the Common on the west, Sweetman on the north, and land of the college on the east. Therefore, for the encroachments of the meeting-house Mr. Betts received a rood of land immediately in the rear of his land, which had been intended for the college. It was on this rood that Mr. Dunster is presumed to have built his house, and naturally he would expect that the town would protect his rights and interests. It is probable that the town agreed to bear the expense of moving his house a short distance to the east, as the adjoining land belonged to the college. The following order, passed on May 10, 1652, would seem to bear out this supposition :

“Liberty is granted by the Townsmen to Mr. Dunster for to fell some timber on the common, about 2 tun, for the repara of his house and fences, but not for the use of the Colledge to take any of the common.”

Evidently Mr. Dunster was making repairs considerably larger than would be necessary in a house that had been built only a few years.

Mr. Dunster made many complaints to the overseers of lack of accommodations for the constantly increasing number of students, and it is supposed that it was during his administration that the college purchased the land and buildings of Edward Goffe, which joined the college land on the west. In the *Proprietors' Records*, under the year 1642, this lot is described as follows :

“Edward Goffe. Within the towne one dwelling house with a barne and outhouse with about one Acr of ground the Colledge east, John Betts & the watch-house-hill west, Brayntree street south, land intended for the Colledge north.”

During the administration of Mr. Dunster, which extended from August 27, 1640, to his resignation on October 24, 1654,

the college took high rank as an institution of learning, and largely increased the number of its college buildings. In 1640 there were only two buildings, namely, the Peyntree house, which was a study, dormitory, and refectory combined, and a small classroom. In 1654 there was the Peyntree house, the Goffe house, Harvard Hall, the president's house, the classroom, and buildings for baking, brewing, and storage.

In the educational department Mr. Dunster had as an assistant his brother-in-law, Mr. Richard Harris. In a previous chapter it has been shown that he was a son of Rev. Nathaniel Harris of Blechingly, Surrey, where he was born in 1617. Educated at New College, Oxford, where he received his degree of B.A. on June 4, 1640, and M.A. on May 25, 1644, he came to Cambridge, but at what date is not known. He was in Cambridge as early as 1642, for in that year he was the owner of a house and garden which he had purchased of John Moore, which is described in the *Proprietors' Records*<sup>1</sup> as follows:

“In the Towne one dwelling house with outhouse, and about halfe a rood of ground; Herbert Pelham Esqr. south, William Cutter East, Mr. Joseph Cooke west, Long street north.”

A few months later Mr. Harris sold the property to Christopher Cane. His position in the college was very similar to that of a fellow in the English universities, namely, residing at the college, assisting in the instruction, and receiving a stipend therefor, although in the case of Mr. Harris there is no record of any disbursements to Mr. Harris in Mr. Dunster's accounts of his expenditures. Mr. Harris was apparently in easy circumstances. After the death of Rev. Jose Glover, who married his sister, the trustees of his estate paid over to Mr. Harris £250, which was part of a legacy to him from his father, and which Mr. Glover had taken charge of while Mr. Harris was attending the English University.

<sup>1</sup> *Proprietors' Records*, p. 102.

He occupied a room in the new college building as a study and dormitory, but boarded with Mrs. Glover until her death, as in his accounts with the Glover estate Mr. Dunster charges Mr. Harris with diet and expenses for two years and two months, or the time between Mrs. Glover's marriage to Mr. Dunster and her death. Mr. Harris, therefore, must have been present in Cambridge before his sister's marriage with Mr. Dunster, which was on June 21, 1641, and the tradition that he came to Cambridge with Mr. Dunster in 1640 may be true.

In *College Book No. I*, pages 9 to 11 inclusive contain accounts of the expenses incurred in finishing the studies and chambers in the new college building. These rooms appear to have been finished according to the taste and wishes of those who were to occupy them, and apparently at their expense. The only date attached to any one of these rooms is November 17, 1643, at which time John Bulkley apparently paid 13s. 4d. for "plankes, glasse, dawbing the walls," etc. Mr. Bulkley had received his A.B. in 1642, and was evidently taking a post-graduate course for the purpose of securing his degree of A.M. On page 10 is the account of the expenses incurred in finishing "Mr. Richard Harris's Chamber," which amounted to £5 19s. 11d. and which was double that of any other chamber. It was also the most luxurious, as it was "sield with Cedar round about," contained a chimney, was boarded all around with pine, had glass in the sashes, and was furnished with a form and a table. In legal documents Mr. Harris is styled gentleman. He died August 29, 1644, and bequeathed to Harvard College a silver tankard and a silver porringer which had belonged to his father and had been brought from England by his sister. In the inventory of the Glover estate they were appraised at £5 18s. The remainder of his property was bequeathed to Priscilla and John Glover, his niece and nephew.

# **The First Printing Office**

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## The First Printing Office

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**A**S has been stated, Mr. Glover died on the passage from London to Boston. The remainder of the party, after the usual voyage of from six to eight weeks, arrived safely in Boston Harbor about the middle of September. Mrs. Glover evidently agreed with her husband in his intention to establish a printing office, and immediately prepared to carry out his plans. As the press was to be an appendage of the college, it must be set up either on or near the college lands. Therefore, notwithstanding the Glover estate was in possession of a house in Boston, she proceeded to Cambridge and took possession of the commodious mansion of ex-Governor Haynes, who had removed to Connecticut the previous year.

In the *Proprietors' Records*, among the entries made by the surveyors of houses and lands for the year 1638, this property is entered as follows :

“Mrs. Glover. Bought of Mr. John Haynes Esquire one house with outhouses, Garden & Court Yard, one Roode of ground more or less Longe street southwest, the merkate place southeast Spring street Northeast Edmund Anger northwest.”

Evidently this was considered the finest estate in the town, as it is the only one described as having “outhouses, garden and courtyard.”

John Haynes, Esq., was a gentleman from the county of Essex in England, where he had an elegant seat called Copford Hall, worth a thousand pounds sterling a year. Accompanied by his wife and five children, and having as a fellow passenger



Rev. Thomas Hooker, he arrived in Boston Harbor in the ship "Griffin," on September 4, 1633. Proceeding immediately to Newtowne, he was granted the above described lot of land for a houselot, upon which he erected a large and commodious mansion. Distinguished for his abilities, prudence, and piety, and considered in no respect inferior to Hon. John Winthrop, he was chosen governor in 1635, and it is probable that during the sessions of the General Court the larger portion of this elegant mansion was at the service of the members. In 1637 Mr. Haynes removed to Hartford with Rev. Mr. Hooker, and in 1639 was chosen governor of Connecticut. His house and lands in Newtowne were bought by Mr. Glover. Nothing is known of the external appearance of this mansion, but with its courtyard it must have been quite imposing. We obtain a glimpse of the furnishings of a portion of the interior from the testimony given in the case of John Glover, versus Henry Dunster, Middlesex Files, 1656:

"Sarah Bucknam, aged 34 years, attested that Mrs. Glover of Cambridge, sometime Mr. Dunster's wife, she being servant to the said Mrs. Glover about a year and a quarter in New England, Do know that there was in her house eleven feather beds or Downs, all well furnished and fitted for use, one of them having phlox and Cherry Curtains ingrain with a Deep Silk Fringe on the Vallance and a smaller on the Curtains, and a Coverlett suitable to it made of Red Kersey and barred with a green lace round the sides and 2 down the middle. Also, there appertained to that bed an outlining the quilt, also to another a blew serge suit, very rich and costly curtains and valances laced and fringed, and a blew Rug to the bed. Also a Greene Suit in the same manner, also another Red wrought Suite with a Stoole and all things complete. Also a Canopy bed with Curtains, a chest of Drawers, of which one of that

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chest was full with fine Linnen, a Damaske Suite, several Diaper Suites, a fine yellow Rug with a starr and with abundance of Flaxen Linnen for common use. In another part of the Chest of Drawers tapes and tafetys for Screens and Shades.

A paire of Greate brasse andiorns, and a paire of smaller andiorns of brasse, Brasse Candlesticks of sorts, a greate Brasse Pot, and brasse of all sorts usefull for such a family, moore, Pewter of severall sorts and also of Plate of all sorts, greate and small. I also remember clearly that there were 29 silver spoons, a very fair salt with 3 full knobs on top of it, 3 other silver Pitchers of lessor sorts, a greate silver Tankard with 4 mugs to stand on the Table quite fine, 6 porringers, one small and 3 greate bowles, 4 mugs and a pot, a silver Grater with a cover on it, 6 plain Trenchers, plate, also Blanketts and Coverletts and Rugs, usually employed to furnish so many beds.

Testified in Court by Sarah Bucknam.

2 (2) 56.

THOMAS DANFORTH, Recorder."

"Joan, the wife of Richard Hassell, testifying that being servant to Mrs. Glover in the time of her widowhood, the said Mrs. Glover had 7 feather beds that were furnished, in the house and in every way complete, Divers having Curtains and Hangings and some double, and also she had 3 sorts of Hangings, one of tapestry and fringed hangings, and Green Damaske, and she plentifully provided of sheets and coverletts and Rugs, and also she had all sorts of Linnen needfull in such a house, and a suite of Damaske and a suite of fine Holland table cloths and napkins and side cloths, and severall sorts of Diaper suites, table cloths, napkins and side cloths, and plenty of Brasse, Pewter, Plate, and a Greate Wine Bowl and a Greate Sugar Dish and Chaffin Dish, besides those that were used in the Court. Also she saith there were a feather bed that were paked up to be

brot to New England, and 2 paire of Brasse Andirons, one greater than the other.

Attested upon Oath before the Gov'. and magistrates by Joan Hassell.

2 (2) 56.

THOMAS DANFORTH, Recorder."

A writer in the *Chicago News* says :

"In olden times beds were very sumptuous articles of furniture, and the gift of one in a will represented, in many cases, a large sum of money, the bedstead with its fittings frequently costing several hundred pounds. In Elizabeth's time, and earlier, bedsteads were imposing creations of oak, richly carved in all manner of quaint devices, with perhaps a grinning satyr peering from behind a pillar, sufficiently grotesque to murder the slumbers of the most somnolent. Those were the days, too, of heavy silken hangings, valances and quilts, all richly embroidered in silk and gold and silver thread, with heavy bullion fringes to add weight and majesty. Such beds may be seen in some of the valuable collections at the museums and at country seats, such as Warwick Castle, and other notable old places."

From a farther examination of the *Proprietors' Records* it appears that all the property in Cambridge formerly belonging to Mr. Haynes is now entered as the property of Mrs. Glover. It does not seem possible that Mrs. Glover would have bought so large and valuable an estate after her arrival in Boston. From the fact that the whole property was considered as a part of the Glover estate, and that it was managed by the feoffees of that estate, it would seem to be more probable that Mr. Glover, himself, had bought this property through authorized agents, and that he had fully intended to take up his residence in Cambridge. The use of the word "bought" in these descriptions of properties in the *Proprietors' Records* does not mean that these properties were bought in the year in which they are men-

tioned, but to distinguish them from properties which were granted and not bought. Careful examination shows that many of the properties were bought one or more years previous to these entries.

The last entry but one made by the surveyors of 1638 reads :

“Mrs. Glover. Bought of James Luxford one house with garden backside with the priviledges thereunto belonging, which he bought of Mr. Symkins Richard Champies North Crooked Street South the high waye East.”

As the entry of this part of Mrs. Glover's properties stands by itself, and occurs almost at the end of the list for that year, and as it was always considered a portion of Mr. Glover's estate, it was purchased probably by the feoffees of the estate late in 1638, or as we reckon time, early in 1639.

According to the records, the original owner of this lot appears to have been Mrs. Esther Muzzey, a widow, and one of the Braintree Company which arrived in Cambridge in August, 1632.<sup>1</sup> Whether it had been granted to her husband, who had accompanied her and died shortly after his arrival, does not appear. The first order in the town records of Cambridge, dated March 29, 1632, reads :

“An Agreement by the Inhabitants of the New Town aboute paleing in the necke of land.

“Imprimis, that Every one who had anny part therein shall hereafter kepe the same in good and suficient repaire, etc. Further it is Agreed that the said Impaled ground shalbe Devided according to every man's Proportion in said pales.”

When, on January 7, 1632-3, the building of the common pales was divided among the inhabitants, Mrs. Muzzey is recorded as being allotted ten rods. On August 5, 1633, she was granted a lot for a cowyard, which comprised an acre

<sup>1</sup> Winthrop's *New England*, I, 104.

of land bordering upon the river, at the foot of Holyoke Street.

In 1635 Mrs. Muzzey married William Roscoe; and in 1636, being about to remove to Connecticut, sold her Cambridge properties. The cowyard was sold on March 24, 1635-6, to John Benjamin. The houselot and other properties were sold to John Knight. On November 20, 1637, John Knight sold the houselot to Nicholas Symkins, who sold, shortly after, to James Luxford, notorious as the unfaithful steward of Governor Winthrop. As we have shown above, early in 1639 Luxford sold it to the Glover estate.

When recorded in the *Proprietors' Records* on October 5, 1635, this lot is described as follows:

“Hester Musse. In the Towne one house with other out-houses garden and backside about halfe a roode Christopher Kene northwest william Wadsworth north east Crooked street southeast Daniel Abbott southwest.”

Remembering that Crooked Street, now Holyoke Street, runs northeast and southwest, the property which stands in the name of Mrs. Muzzey was the third lot from Braintree Street, now Massachusetts Avenue, on the westerly side of Holyoke Street. In 1635 the first, or corner, lot was owned by John Steele, the second lot was owned by William Wadsworth, and the fourth lot, or the lot next south of Mrs. Muzzey, was owned by Daniel Abbott. The lot immediately west of Mrs. Muzzey, which fronted on Water Street, now Dunster Street, and which was parallel with Crooked Street, was owned by Christopher Cane.

On September 25, 1637,<sup>1</sup> William Wadsworth sold his lot to Richard Champney, the entry in the *Proprietors' Records* for 1638 reading:

“Richard Champnies. Bought of William Wadsworth of Hartford in Connectcote one house garden backside Contayne-

<sup>1</sup> *Proprietors' Records*, p. 41.

ing aboute halfe a Roode of Grounde. Robart Bradish northeast Crooked street southeast. Goodman Daye southwest, the Common ponde northwest.”

During the same year, 1637, Christopher Cane sold his property to William Towne, the entry in the *Proprietors' Records* for 1638 reading :

“ William Towne. Bought of Christopher Cane one house with a garden in the Towne Nathaniel Hancocke Northeast, Goodman Daye Southeast, Thomas Mariot Southwest, water street Northwest.”

These references prove conclusively that the property which the Glover feoffees bought of James Luxford, and the house in which Stephen Day lived, were one and the same. It is very evident that this was the house which the feoffees first hired and then bought, for the accommodation of Mr. Day and his family. It must have been in one of the lower rooms of this house that Mr. Day set up the printing press which had been bought in England by Mr. Glover, and which had accompanied Mrs. Glover to Cambridge.

Here was opened the FIRST PRINTING OFFICE in the English colonies in America. This was the cradle of the English colonial press, and the incunabula produced in this office under the management of Stephen Day were : *The Freeman's Oath* in 1638 or 1639, *The Almanack* for 1639, and *The Whole Booke of Psalmes* in 1640.



**Stephen Day**

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## Stephen Day

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**S**TEPHEN DAY was born in England about 1594. Although very little is known of his condition in life before he came to New England, yet we glean a few facts from a legal document now on file in the office of the City Registrar of Cambridge. It is a bond in which the obligation is written in Latin. Translated it reads :

“ Know all men by these presents, that we Stephen Day of Cambridge, locksmith, Matthew Day of Saffron-Walden, in the County of Essex, locksmith, and John Carter of Cambridge, aforesaid, miller, are holden and firmly bound to William Bordman, one of the sons of Andrew Bordman, lately living in the town of Cambridge, aforesaid, baker, deceased, in the sum of one hundred pounds of good and lawful money of England, to be paid to the said William Bordman, either to his duly appointed attorney, executors, administrators, or assigns ; For the full and faithful payment of which we bind ourselves, each of us both individually and collectively, our and each of our heirs, executors and administrators firmly by these presents.

“ Sealed with our seals, given on the twentieth day of the month of February, in the year of the reign of our Lord James, by the grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, defender of the faith, etc., viz., of England, France and Ireland the fifteenth, and of Scotland the fifty-first. (1618)

Read, sealed, subscribed and delivered  
to the use of the above named William  
Bordman, in the presence of Samuel  
Disher and of me. J. Mynott, Public  
Notary.

STEPHEN DAY.

MATTHEW DAY.

signum  
JOHANIS + CARTER.

“The Condition of this obligation is such, that whereas the within bounden Stephen Day doth intende to marry, and take to wife Rebecca Bordman, the Relict, and Executrix of the last Will and Testament of Andrew Bordman of Cambridge, in the County of Cambridge Baker, deceased. If therefor the said Stephen Day, his Heirs, Executors, Administrators, or Assigns, or any of them, do well and truely Content, and pay or cause to be payed to the within named William Bordman, one of the Sons of the said Andrew Bordman deceased, or to his certain and Lawfull Atturnies, his Executors, Administrators, or Assigns, the full sum of fifty pounds of good and Lawfull money of England, when he the said William Bordman shall accomplish his full age of one and twentie yeares. And shall honestly, according to his degree, educate and bring up the said William Bordman dureing the time of his nonage with meate, drinke, apparrell, and learning. That then this obligation to be voide, and of none effect, or else to stande, and abide in full power and vertue.”

At this time William Bordman was four years of age, and shortly after the signing of this bond Stephen Day married Mrs. Bordman. So far as we know, during the following twenty years Stephen Day remained in Cambridge, England, carrying on the business of a locksmith. Of his two children, Stephen Day, Jr., is supposed to have been born in 1619, and Matthew in 1620 or 1621. How Stephen Day was brought to the notice of Mr. Glover does not appear, but on June 7, 1638, Stephen Day obligated himself to remove to New England, and there labor for Mr. Glover. The bond given by Day to Mr. Glover is preserved, among the Dunster manuscripts in the library of Harvard University. The obligation, written in Latin, freely translated, reads :

“Know all men by these presents that I, Stephen Day, of Cambridge, in the County of Cambridge, Locksmith, am holden and firmly bound to Josse Glover, Clerk, in the sum of one

hundred lawful pounds of English money, to be paid to the said Josse, or his duly appointed attorney, executors or administrators. For the full and prompt payment of which I bind myself, my heirs, executors and administrators firmly by these presents, sealed with my seal, given on the seventh day of June, in the fourteenth year of the reign of our Lord Charles, by the grace of God King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, defender of the faith, etc., A.D. 1638."

The condition is written in English, and reads:—

"The Condicion of this obligacion is such That whereas the above named Josse Glover hath undertaken and promised to beare the charges of and for the transportacion of the above bounden Stephen Day and Rebecca, his wife, and of Mathew and Stephen Day their Children, and of William Bordman and three men servants which are to be transported with him, the said Stephen, to New England in America, in the shipp called the John of London. And whereas the transportacion of all the said parties will cost the summe of Forty and Fower pounds, which is to be disbursed by the said Joos Glover. And whereas the said Joos Glover hath delivered to the said Stephen Day ketles and other iron tooles to the value of Seaven pounds, both which summes amount to the summe of Fiftie and One pounds. If therefore the said Stephen Day doe and shall with all speed shipp himselfe, and his said wife and children and servants, and the said William Bordman in the said shipp, and cause him and themselves to be transported in the said shipp to New England aforesaid, with as much speed as winde and weather will permitt. And also if the said Stephen Day, his executors, administrators, or assignes, doe truly pay or cause to be paid to the said Josse Glover, his executors, or assignes the summe of Fifty and One pounds of law-[ful money] of England within Twenty and fower monethes next, after the arrivall of the said Stephen Day, the father, in New England aforesaid. Or within Thirty daies next

after the decease of the said Stephen Day the father, which of the said tymes shall first and next happen to come or bee after the date above written. And also if the said Stephen Day the father, and his servants and every one of them doe, and shall, from tyme to tyme, labor and worke with and for the said Josse Glover and his assignes in the trade which the said Stephen, the father, now useth in New England aforesaid, at such rates and prizes as is usually paid and allowed for the like worke in the Country there. And also if the said Stephen the father, his executors or administrators doe and shall, with the said summe of Fiftie and One pounds pay and allow unto the said Joos Glover, his executors or assignes for the loane, adventure and forbearance of the same summe, such recompence, damage, consideracion as two indifferent men in New England aforesaid to be chosen for that purpose shall thinke fitt, sett down and appoint. And lastly, if the said Joos Glover his executors and assignes shall and may from tyme to tyme detaine and take to his and their owne uses, towards the payment of the said summe of money and allowances aforesaid, all such parte and soe much of the wages and earnings which shalbe earned by the workes and labours aforesaid (not exceeding the principall summe aforesaid) as the said Joos his executors or assignes shall thinke fitt. That then this obligacion to be void, Or els to stand in force and Vertue."

The bond was signed by Stephen Day and witnessed by Richard Preice, Francis Nelmes, and Henry Colbron.

From this bond we learn that Stephen Day was a resident of Cambridge, England, and by trade a locksmith. The older lexicographers define a smith as "one who works in metals," "one who smiteth." Tooke observes that this name was given to all who smote with a hammer. Smiths were classified according to the metals in which they worked, and were known as blacksmiths, or workers in iron, whitesmiths, or workers in tin,

goldsmiths, silversmiths, etc. To produce guns, locks, and other manufactures, the blacksmith, or worker in iron, must possess peculiar skill and a knowledge of mechanics. The smiths who could manufacture these articles were of a higher grade, and were known as gunsmiths, locksmiths, etc. Day, therefore, was more than an ordinary workman; he was an expert mechanic, skilled in the working of iron. He was a master workman, employing in his shop three men servants. We also learn that he had obligated himself, together with his family and men servants, to go to New England, and there, in the employment of Mr. Glover, he and his men servants were to work as locksmiths. No term of service is mentioned, but there is a provision that if at any time within twenty-four months the fifty-one pounds which Mr. Glover had advanced for their passage and for kettles and iron tools was paid, together with interest, the bond was to be null and void. In the opinion of the writer, the reason for specifying "four and twenty months" as the time within which the loan was to be paid was because at the end of that time both of Mr. Day's sons would be of age, and the father could no longer control their services.

There is no mention in the bond of the press, nor is there any intimation that Mr. Day and his men servants were being sent to New England to engage in printing. It is not necessary to try to find concealed in the bond any other reason for sending these workmen to New England than the one there expressed. There was a great demand for skilled workmen in the new country, and there would be no difficulty in securing employment, even if not wanted by Mr. Glover. It is believed, however, that other interests than those of the college had their influence in inducing Mr. Glover to resolve to go to New England.

It was expected by the *Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England* that great mineral wealth would

be found in the new country, and in the charter one-fifth of all the gold and silver ore found was to be paid to the king. The following entry appears in the record of the meeting of the Company held in London on March 2, 1628-9:

“Also for Mr. Malbon, it was propounded, he having skyll in iron works, and willing to put in £25 in stocke, it should be accepted as £50, and his charge to bee bore out and home for Newe England; and upon his returne, and report what may bee done about iron works, consideracion to be had of proceeding therein accordingly, and furdre recompence, if there be cause to intertayne him.”

On March 5, 1628-9, is the following entry:

“Mr. John Malbon beeing also desyred to bee heere, After conference had with him touching the proposition made in his behalffe the 2 of this monethe, he was wished to consyder what further proposicion he would make that the Company might take it into consideracion.”

It does not appear that any engagement was made with Mr. Malbon, but these entries show that at a very early date considerable interest was taken in iron works. As early as 1642 Stephen Day was prospecting for iron ore in what is now Lancaster, and in the summer of 1643 John Winthrop, Jr., arrived in Boston from England, bringing with him £1000 stock and several workmen, to begin an iron work.<sup>1</sup> It is therefore the opinion of the writer that Mr. Glover expected not only to be connected with the college, but also to be a member of an iron company, and it was for the purpose of employing them in an iron work that he was bringing over Mr. Day, a master iron-worker, and his three assistants.

There is no evidence whatever that Stephen Day or his three men servants knew anything about printing, or were ever employed in the working of a press. In no one of the documents

<sup>1</sup> *Winthrop's New England*, II, 213.

relating to Day is he styled printer, but always locksmith. Indeed, it would seem to be utterly impossible that any one who could write so faulty a letter as the following could ever have been a printer.

*To the Rit. worshepfull Mr. John Wentrop at his houes in Famoth, d—d.*

RIGHT WORSHEPFULL.— After my deutie and sarves remembred to youer worshep and mestres Wantrop, thaes ar to intret that you will be plased to accomadat Mr. Homan with a lott. Sur, youer man, John is to mare his dauter. Sur, the man will com vere comfortabele, for he sales his lot wall here, and hath catel all rede. So geveng youer worshepes ombe thankses for my soun, Willuem, i rast youer worshepes sarvent to command.

STEVEN DAY.

CAMBREG, this 23 of October, 1648.<sup>1</sup>

There is evidence, however, from Samuel Green that Matthew Day, the son, was a practical printer, and that he had been brought over by Mr. Glover to take charge of the printing.<sup>2</sup> In 1638 Matthew was about eighteen years of age, and if he had been apprenticed to an English printer, as is very probable, he would already have served at least four years at that trade, in which time certainly he would have acquired considerably more than the rudiments of the art. He would have learned how to distribute, compose, and impose, and would have been familiar with the actual working of the press. Under Matthew's direction Stephen could set up the press, and with Matthew's skill in composing and locking up the forms it would be possible to print. Whether or not Stephen Day, Jr., who was a year or more older than Matthew, had also been apprenticed to a printer does not appear, but from the insertion of the twenty-four months clause in the bond it is assumed that such was the

<sup>1</sup> *Mass. Hist. Sec'y Coll.*, Fifth Series, I, 364.

<sup>2</sup> See *infra*, p. 200.



fact. Unfortunately he died on December 1, 1639. As both Stephen, Jr., and Matthew were minors, in order to secure their services Mr. Glover had been obliged to make arrangements with the father, and as Mr. Glover had need of the services of the father and his men servants in the iron business, he advanced the money to pay for the passage of the whole Day family and the men servants. Although Mr. Day and the men servants were not intended to be employed in the printing office, yet their services would be useful in setting up the press and in repairing the tools, when necessary. From testimony in the lawsuit between the Glover heirs and Mr. Dunster, it appears that although Mr. Day may not have been a practical printer, yet he knew something about the value of a press and printing materials. Among the Court files at Cambridge, Massachusetts, is the following document :

“ I Stephen Day aged 62 years do attest that the charges which Mr. Glover expended in England for the procuring of the Printing Press was besides freight and other expenses, at least £20, the which Press hath been improved by order of Mr. Dunster as appeareth by another testimony I have given in. Also I do attest that the same materials that were brought over hither as above said are worth in this at least £40.

Sworn in Court 2 (2) '56.

THO. DANFORTH Recorder.”

Undoubtedly Mr. Glover intended to manage the press himself, depending on Mr. Day's sons to do the printing. Two men and a boy would constitute an ample force for working the press, and it is not likely that Mr. Glover intended to increase that force by adding to it Mr. Day and the men servants. This would have been too expensive even for the wealthy Mr. Glover, and from the amount of business expected Mr. Glover must have seen that it would not be from the profits of the press

that Mr. Day would be able to repay the loan of fifty-one pounds. Mr. Glover died on the passage, but the rest of the party arrived safely at Boston about the latter part of September, as appears from the following. On September 7, 1638, Rev. Edmund Browne, who had recently arrived in Boston, writes a letter to Simonds D'Ewes, Baronet, of Stow Langloft Hall, County of Suffolk, England, a gentleman who was much interested in the colony.<sup>1</sup> In this letter he enclosed a report on the appearance of the country as he found it. The last paragraph of the report reads :

“Wee have at Cambridge here, a Colledge erecting, youth lectured, a library, and I suppose there will be a presse this winter.”

“A Colledge erecting” and “youth lectured” means that, under the supervision of Professor Eaton, the Peyntree house was being remodelled and the students were about to occupy it. As Rev. John Harvard was then alive it could not refer to Harvard Hall, which was not begun for more than a year later. “A library” undoubtedly refers to the books sent over by the Company of the Massachusetts Bay, probably in the ship “George Bonaventure,” which set sail from the Isle of Wight on May 4, 1629.<sup>2</sup> On board the ship was Rev. Mr. Skelton, who had selected a large part of the library, the remainder having been presented to the Company by Mr. William Backhouse. A catalogue of the books is printed in *Records of the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England*, I, 37<sup>f</sup>-37<sup>h</sup>.

After its arrival in Salem, presumably the library was placed in Governor Endicott's house, but upon the arrival of Governor Winthrop it was probably removed to the “Great House” at Charlestown. It being a governmental library, when it was

<sup>1</sup> *Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts*, VII, p. 80.

<sup>2</sup> *Massachusetts Bay Records*, I, 398.

finally settled that Boston was to be the seat of the government, it was probably transferred to the second building of the First Church, and when the Town House was built provision was made for its being kept there. It perished with the Town House in the great fire of 1711.

“I suppose there will be a presse this winter” can refer only to Mr. Glover’s press. Mr. Browne undoubtedly was acquainted with Glover in England, and must have known of his intention of bringing over a press.

On October 10, 1638, Rev. Hugh Peter, then in Salem, writes to Patrick Copeland, a minister in Bermuda,

“Wee have a printery here and thinke to goe to worke with some special things, and if you have anything, you may send it safely by these.”<sup>1</sup>

Mrs. Glover and her party, therefore, must have arrived after September 7, and before October 10.

The death of Mr. Glover necessarily caused some changes in the plans formed by him. Naturally, nothing would be done by his widow to develop the iron industry, and she would have no need of the services of the three men servants. What became of them does not appear. The contract bound only Stephen Day, but it is very probable that as their passage money had been paid by Mr. Glover, they would remain with Day until that debt had been discharged.

We have seen that Mrs. Glover undertook to carry out the plans of Mr. Glover regarding the press, and that almost immediately she proceeded to Cambridge, where she installed her own family in the Haynes mansion, and the Day family in the house on Holyoke Street. As John Stedman, the steward, was appointed to take charge of the houses and lands, so Stephen Day, the locksmith, appears to have been intrusted with the setting up of the press and the oversight of the printers.

<sup>1</sup> *Collections of the Mass. Hist. Society*, Fourth Series, II, p. 99.

Although not a printer, yet being a master workman he understood the management of men, and the printing of a book would not be a difficult task if his two sons, as is supposed, had served time as apprentices in a printing office, and therefore learned considerably more than the rudiments of the art. Mr. Glover himself is not supposed to have had any knowledge of the art of printing, yet he intended to manage the office, and it was this position that Day was called upon to fill. Although the early productions of the press were not the best specimens of the art, yet they were not so well done as to preclude their having been the handiwork of the Day family.

How long Stephen Day remained in charge of the printing office does not appear; but probably it was not longer than would be necessary to get it in proper running order, to obtain money enough to pay his bond, and to secure funds to enable him to engage in a projected business venture. The position had come to him unexpectedly. Printing was not his vocation and had but little interest for him. He was a locksmith and an iron-worker. Probably the great inducement for him to come to New England had been the expectation of being associated with Mr. Glover in the manufacture of iron. In two years Stephen Day, Jr., would be of age, and in three years Matthew Day would have attained his majority. Therefore, at the end of three years at the farthest, one of his sons could take his place. The question, however, was decided perhaps a little earlier, and somewhat differently than he expected, as on June 21, 1641, Mrs. Glover married Mr. Dunster, who assumed the management of the Glover estate and left Mr. Day free to carry out his own plans.

Naturally, our account of Mr. Day should end here; but in order to show more clearly that it would have been practically impossible for him to have remained in charge of the printing office after 1641, even if Mrs. Glover had not married, it has

been deemed proper to give a short sketch of Mr. Day's later career. The enterprise in which Mr. Day soon engaged so completely engrossed his mind and time, and required the investment of so much of his capital, that he could have paid no attention to the printing office, even if he had been so requested. Even while nominally the head of the office the business had not been sufficient to keep him employed, and he had undoubtedly supported himself and three assistants by setting up an iron forge and working as a locksmith. It is probably owing to this nominal management of the printing office, and to his entire lack of knowledge of the art of printing, that he refrained from placing his name in the imprint of any of the books printed while he had charge of the office.

During the first three years after his arrival in Cambridge Mr. Day appears to have prospered. Apparently he paid to the Glover trustees the fifty-one pounds which had been advanced to him by Mr. Glover; the town of Cambridge had granted him one hundred acres of land; in 1639 he had bought in Cambridge, from various owners, several lots of land, amounting in all to seventy-two acres; and on December 10, 1641, the General Court "granted Stephen Day, being the first that set up printing, three hundred acres of land where it may be convenient, without prejudice to any town." His prosperity, however, was not due to the wages he may have received from managing the printing office. The business of the office was not sufficient to support the printers, and they were obliged to seek outside work when there was nothing to do in the office.

Mr. Day had not forgotten Mr. Glover's plan of engaging in the manufacture of iron. He was only waiting to obtain sufficient funds, and an opportunity to search the country for iron ore. Evidently such an opportunity came in 1642, and he was free to embrace it. On July 23, 1642, Mr. Winthrop writes in his *Journal* the following record:

“Osamaken, the great sachem of Pakanocott in Plimouth jurisdiction, came, attended with many men and some other sagamores, to visit the governour, who entertained him kindly.”

Osamaken is another name for Massasoit. The Indians in the Nipmuck country owed allegiance to him, and while sojourning a short time with them he took the opportunity to visit the governor at Boston. In *Suffolk Deeds*<sup>1</sup> there is recorded an interesting account of this visit. It reads:

“John Grout of Sudbury aged sixty-eight yeares testifies upon Oath that the Deponent was well acquainted with Governor Winthrop from the time he came into the country till the time of his death, and knowes that about two and forty yeares since Tacumus an Indian Sagamore or cheife man of the Indians at Chapnocunco comeing to Boston with his Sons and receiving sundry gifts and favours from Governor Winthrop the said Tacumus expressed great obligation and desire to give some testimony of his thankfullness invited the said Mr. Winthrop to goe or send up into his Country and to accept some Lands from him, and that the said Mr. Winthrop upon said invitation employed Stephen Day of Cambridge, William Knap of Watertowne and the deponent to goe with a written deed to Chapnacconco to the said Tacumus and from him to receive possession of certain Lands, and that the said Tacumus in the deponent's sight and presence very freely and with memorable ceremonies signed a deed of gift and delivered the same to the said Stephen Day for the use of said M<sup>r</sup>. Winthrop wherein he conveyed to him and his heires forever his Land lying all along and from end to end upon the westerly side of Chapnacongoe pond towards Connecticut and in the same length or breadth to run up into the Country towards Connecticott till the extent or

<sup>1</sup> *Suffolk Deeds*, Liber XIII, p. 344.

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**Stephen Day**


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quantity should be as large as Watertown town bounds and which according to the best of the Deponent's Judgement was not less than seven or eight miles square and at the same time possession was given of said Land by earth and grass delivered said Stephen Day the said Tacumus at the same time speaking to the deponent who understood something of the Indian language to speake to M<sup>r</sup>. Winthrop to charge his children to give his Sons more fish hookes. The ceremony Tacumus used in Signing said Deed was Viz, he caused his eldest Son to lye or kneele down upon the ground and himselfe made his marke or signe on the Deed upon his Sons back and then he put himselfe in the same posture and caused his said Son to signe the same Deed upon his back and also caused his other Sons successively to do the like upon one anothers backs, the meaning whereof the deponent understood was that none of them might have any pretence of right by succession to disturb or molest said M<sup>r</sup>. Winthrop or his Children and further Saith not. Deposd by John Grout this 14th of May 1684,

before Simon Bradstreet Gov<sup>r</sup>.

Sa<sup>m</sup> Sewall Assist.

Robert Sanderson Sen<sup>r</sup>. Goldsmith testifys that he together with John Groot Stephen Day and William Knap went into the Nipmug Country at the time and upon the occasion above mentioned But supposing he was at the time of Signing the Deed and delivering possession imploied to gather some minerall stones not far distant he remembers not that he saw the ceremony's above mentioned performed but well remembers he heard the said Day and Groot when they met again pleasantly and particularly relate the same and other passages upon the Indians delivering the Deed and land to them for M<sup>r</sup>. Winthrops use and further saith not.

Ju<sup>r</sup> co<sup>r</sup> nos  
8th June 1685.

S BRADSTREET Gov<sup>r</sup>  
SA<sup>m</sup> SEWALL Assist."

Chapnacongoc Pond was intended for Chabanakongkomum Pond, now known as Webster Lake, situated in the town of Webster, only a few miles from the Connecticut line. John Grout had been sent to make sure that the transfer was made legally, he being the town clerk of Sudbury. Stephen Day, a locksmith, and Robert Sanderson, a goldsmith, evidently had been sent to search for minerals.

By a deed dated May 4, 1685, John and Wait Winthrop give to their sisters Margaret Corwin of Salem, widow of Captain John Corwin, and Ann Winthrop of Boston, spinster,

“All that their tract or parcel of Land lying all along and from end to end by the westerly side of Chapnacongoc Pond thence to run westward to compleat the quantity of Seven mile square be the same more or less being in or near unto the Nipmug Country in New England aforesaid Which said tract or parcel of Land was granted to John Winthrop Esq. deceased, his heires and assignes forever by Tacomas an Indain Sagamore and his three Sons and Livery and Seizen thereof given for the use and behoofe aforesaid to Stephen Day of Cambridge and is now legally descended to them the aforesaid John and Wait Winthrop as heires and Executors to the said John Winthrop Esq. deceased.”

In this deed mines and minerals are specially mentioned.

Apparently, Mr. Day now devoted his time and attention to prospecting for iron ore, and in carrying out his plans used up his ready money and mortgaged his lands. From records in *Suffolk Deeds*, Vol. I, we learn that on April 16, 1640, he mortgaged the sixty-three acres which he bought in 1639, as security for fifty-seven pounds; that on July 28, 1642, he pledged seven acres of land in Cambridge, as security for a cow and a calf; that on September 26, 1642, he placed a mortgage on the one hundred acres of land granted to him by the town, as security for a loan of sixty pounds; and on February 23, 1643, he sold



twelve acres of land for twelve pounds. Fortunately the three hundred acres granted to him by the General Court had not been set off, or they also would have been mortgaged.

On the *Records of the Court of Assistants of the Colony of the Massachusetts Bay* are the following entries :

“ At a Quarter Court at Boston the 5th of the 7th month 1643 Stephen Day for his defrauding several men was committed.”

“ At a meeting of the General Court held on the 7th of the 7th month 1643 it is ordered that Stephen Day shall be released, giving £100 bond for his appearance when he is called for.”

These records plainly show that in September, 1643, Stephen Day was in financial distress, that he had mortgaged and sold all his property and was unable to meet his engagements. How he extricated himself from his difficulties does not appear. Mr. Day's financial condition had been brought about by the delays incident upon his attempting, with several other individuals, to establish a town and engage in the manufacture of iron.

Among the Indian trading posts in the colony was one which had been established by Henry Simonds of Boston, and Thomas King of Watertown. In 1643 Simonds and King associated themselves with John Prescott of Watertown, Harman Garrett of Charlestown, Thomas Skidmore and Stephen Day of Cambridge, and a few others, and purchased of Sholan, chief of the Nashaway tribe of Indians, a tract of land on the Nashaway River, about fifteen miles northwest from Sudbury. This tract of land, which included the Indian trading post, was ten miles in length and eight miles in breadth. The river would furnish valuable mill privileges, and from the bogs and marshes it was supposed that ore could be dug, from which iron could be manufactured. Here they proposed to settle and build a town. More than half of the men engaged in the enterprise, namely, Prescott, Day, Garrett, Hill, and Jenks, were workers in iron, and it is presumed that the expectation of discovering a deposit

of iron ore was the great inducement for their engaging in the plan of establishing a plantation. This decision had not been arrived at hastily; the question must have been considered long and carefully, and probably time and money had been spent in making investigations in other localities. Evidently the printing press had no attractions for Mr. Day. Printing was not his vocation, and he had stayed in the office only long enough to see that it was in running order, and when, by working at his own trade, he had secured enough money to pay his debts and have a little left, he and the printing press parted forever.

Day and his associates entered into an agreement to appear and begin the plantation at a certain time, and as an evidence of their determination sent up three Watertown husbandmen to make preparation for the general appearance of the company.<sup>1</sup>

The first effort of the associates seems to have been to gather into a church estate before proceeding to the plantation or any houses had been built, and seven of them who were not freemen, and of course not church members, invited the Rev. Nathaniel Norcross of Watertown, a graduate at Catharine Hall College, in the University of Cambridge, in 1636, to be their minister. In 1644 they petitioned the General Court to be allowed to settle the plantation, which was granted, the record reading:

“1644, May 29. The petition of Mr. Nathaniel Norcross, Robert Child, Stephen Day, John Fisher, and others, for a plantation at Nashawake is granted; provided, that there shall not be more land allotted to the town or particular men (notwithstanding their purchase of land of the Indians) than the General Court shall allow.”

It was known as the “Plantation of Nashaway.” In 1652 the General Court, in answer to the petition of the inhabitants, limited the township to eight miles square, and ordered it to be called “Prescott.” Objections being made to this name, the

<sup>1</sup> Willard's *Centennial Address at Lancaster*, p. 69.

## Stephen Day

General Court amended its order by declaring "that it shall be called henceforth 'West Town.'" In answer to another petition on May 18, 1653, the General Court ordered that the town "shall henceforth be called Lancaster." For reasons expressed in a petition to the General Court by the Company, dated June 12, 1645, no one of the petitioners had been able to transport his family to the plantation, although considerable work had been done by individuals. In this connection the following interesting letter from William Pynchon, of Springfield, to Stephen Day shows that Day was devoting all his time and attention to prospecting for iron ore in the interest of Governor Winthrop.<sup>1</sup>

*"To his Lovinge Freind Steeven Day, tante uscu [torn] in Nipnett this deliver.*

SPRINGFIELD this 8 of the 8 month 1644.

STEEVEN DAY. I received a letter from you by an Indian, who saith that his name is Tamuggut. Whereas you write for butter and cheese, it is not to be had in all our plantation. I spend it as fast as I make it, because I have much resort and many workmen, which eat it as soone as I have it; and as for porke and bacon, I have none. I have not yet killed any hoggs; only 2 of our neighbors killed some yesterday: but the weomen say with carriage it will putrifie, especially seeing Indians will often linger on such a jorney two dayes: only I procured 3 *li* of bacon of a neighbor which is sent you at 6 *li*; and 2 *li* of tobbaeco I procured at another place, which cost 18 *d* per *li*. I have no pepper, but I have sent two ounces of ginger at 3 *d*, also I have sent 1 *d* in white paper; sault, 1 quart sault, 1 *d*; 1 *li* sugar, 20 *d*; 4 loafes, 2 *s* 5 *d*. The whole is 9 *s*, and the bagg and basket to put the things in 6*d*: so the Lord blesse you in your proceedings.

Your ever lovinge Freind,

WILLIAM PYNCHON.

<sup>1</sup> *Massachusetts Historical Society Collections*, Fourth Series, Vol. 6.

If you doe your businesse by Indians, you will find deerer than to send an Englishman.

As for the bleu wampam there is 18s of it, at 3 a peny, but I will not take such as this under 6 a peny; I had rather have white wampam, than had bleu at 6 a peny. I will kepe it, because you may redeeme it for white, if you thinke good, our River will vent of any course bleu wampam as the Bay doth.

I spake to this Indian in your behalfe: I tould him that the Governor sent you to search for something in the ground, not for black lead, as they suppose, but for some other mettell: I tould him that the hill of black lead by Quassink, was not so good as that which lay southward of it, nere the cornfield, where one Namoswhat lives. I suppose it is 5 or 6 miles southward of that place by Quassink.

I tould the Indian also that the Governor did send you to see what friendship they would shew you. I tould him also that they might safely trust you, for venison or beanes, and wished them to let you have such things uppon trust. I also shewed him how the trust might be made sure on both sides: by splitting a stick in the middle and by making notches: every notch to stand for 6*d.* in wampam: and that the Governor (meaninge Mr. Wintrop) would pay you at Boston in the springe of the yeere, though it were 20 fathom.

He tould me also that they would sell you beanes and corne and deere, as soone as they take any deere: but I feare they will make you pay well for it. I give you a good doe, 2 fathom, for a fawne of a yeere, 1 fathom: though yet I have bought none, nor do not expect any this 14 dayes at sonest."

This letter was indorsed by John Winthrop, Jr., "Mr. Pynchon to Mr. Day about another place of Blacklead." Mr. Day evidently was prospecting in the Nipmuck Country for iron ore, probably on and near the land which had been granted to

Governor Winthrop in 1642 by Tacomas, the Indian sagamore, and was making a long stay, not intending to return to Boston until the following spring.

In June, 1645, Mr. Norcross, Prescott, Day, Garrett, Hill, Jenkes, and others of the Company, complain to the General Court that

“Wee the said petitioners doe find itt an utter Impossibilitye to proceede forwards to plante at the place above sayd (Nashaway) except wee have a convenient way made for the transportation of our Cattell and goods over Sudbery River and Marsh . . . that wee cannot passe to the plantation abovesd without exposing our persons to perill and our cattell and goods to losse and spoyle; as your petitioners are able to make prooffe of by sad experience of what wee suffered there within these few dayes. . . . Many of us have been dependent on this worke above these two yeares past, much tyme and means have beene spent in discovering the plantation and providing for our setling there. . . . Divers of us have covenanted to sitt downe together and to Improve ourselves there this summer that wee may live there the wynter next ensueing, if God permitt. . . . Your petitioners doe therefore humbly Beseech your Worships that as you have beene pleased to Countenance our beginnings, soe you would please to order that a convenient way bee made at the place aforsd for transportinge our persones cattell and goods, that the worke of God there begun may further proceede and wee have Incouragement to carry on the worke else our tyme, meanes and labour hitherto expended will be lost.”<sup>1</sup>

They also petitioned the General Court for permission to lay out lots for the planters, which was granted, as appears by the following record :

“1645, October 1. Upon the petition of the undertakers for the plantation at Nashaway, the Court is willing that John

<sup>1</sup> *Massachusetts Archives*, CXXI, 5.

Hill, sergeant John Davies, John Chandler, Isaac Walker, and Matthew Barnes, or any three of them, shall have power to set out lots to all the planters belonging to the said plantation, provided that they set not their houses too far assunder, and the great lots to be apportionable to men's estates and charges, and that no man shall have his lot confirmed to him before he hath taken the oath of fidelity before some magistrate."

Nothing, however, seems to have been accomplished toward settling the plantation. The Sudbury bridge was not built, the causeway over the marshes was not constructed, the lands were not allotted, and the whole enterprise languished until, in November, 1647, some of the associates having died and others having left the country, the remainder offered to surrender the grant. To which offer they received the reply: "The Court doth not think fit to destroy the said plantation, but rather to encourage it; only, in regard the persons now upon it are so few and unmeet for such a work, care to be taken to procure others, and in the meantime to remain in the Court's power to dispose of the planting and ordering of it."<sup>1</sup>

The only one of the associates who ever removed his family to the plantation was John Prescott, the ancestor of the brilliant historian, who notwithstanding there was neither bridge nor causeway, ventured up in the fall of 1646, and in crossing Sudbury River lost a horse and his lading, and with great difficulty saved his wife and children from drowning.

Concerning the attempts to settle this plantation, Winthrop in his *Journal*, under the year 1644, writes as follows:

"Many of Watertown and other towns joined in the plantation at Nashaway, and having called a young man, an university scholar, one Mr. Norcross, to be their minister, seven of them who were no members of any churches, were desirous to gather into a church estate: but the magistrates and elders advised them

<sup>1</sup> *Massachusetts Records.*

first to go and build them habitations, etc. (for there was yet no house there), and then to take some that were members of other churches, with the consent of such churches, as formerly had been done, and so proceed orderly. But the persons interested in this plantation being most of them poor men, and some of them corrupt in judgment, and others profane, it went on very slowly, so that in two years they had not three houses built there, and he whom they had called to be their minister left them for their delays."

In regard to this estimate of Winthrop, Mr. Willard says: "It is impossible to separate these men, and class them according to their moral affinities, as described by Winthrop. They were undoubtedly, most of them, humble men, 'not rich in goods, not liable to the charge of intolerable excess and bravery.' Probably, however, no one of them had an 'estate exceeding two hundred pounds,' which would permit them by law to 'wear gold or silver lace, or gold or silver buttons, or any bone lace above two shillings per yard, or to walk in great boots'; or their wives 'to wear silk hoods or scarfs.' I trust, however, that not many of them were 'profane'; and as for being 'corrupt in judgment,' interpreted into the dialect of the present day, it would mean probably no more than this — that they were not members of any church, not freemen, and not of the way of any congregation as then established."<sup>1</sup>

Winthrop's opinion probably was influenced by the fact that among the associates was Dr. Child, who opposed the government and the churches, and some of his supporters. Dr. Robert Child was very much interested in the development of the iron mines in the Massachusetts Colony. As early as 1641 he was procuring and sending to John Winthrop, Jr., at Boston, books relating to chemistry, mineralogy, and silk-worms. In a letter dated "Gravesend, Jun: the 27th, 1643," he writes to John Winthrop, Jr., as follows:

<sup>1</sup> Willard's *Centennial Address at Lancaster*, p. 72.

“Sir, I am glad to heare of your safe arrivall at the Wight and hope your voyage to New England hath bin both spedy and prosperous. . . . I feare your arrivall will be so late, that you will hardly set the worke forward before winter, but I know you will doe your indeavor. . . . Pray remember to send me word concerning the black lead mines. . . . Ile doe my indeavor to get a bloomer. . . . Well, if our iron busines goe on, all is well. . . . I hope to see you next spring.”

Dr. Child came over early in 1644, and joined Stephen Day and his associates in attempting to settle a plantation on the Nashua River, expecting to find iron ore in the bogs and marshes. We have seen that, in 1643, John Winthrop, Jr., had returned from a visit to England, bringing with him one thousand pounds stock, and several workmen to begin an iron work. The General Court was asked to join in carrying on the work, to grant land, and other privileges. A full account of the undertaking is found in *The Records of the Colony of the Massachusetts Bay in New England*, Vol. II. The Company was granted a monopoly of iron works for twenty-one years, certain waste lands, freedom from taxation for ten years, and other privileges. These grants were made at the General Court held at Boston on March 7, 1644. Concerning the land the record reads :

“To the 5th proposition it is answered, in proprieties, as before, in wasts it is granted, provided they take not above six places, and do within ten years set up an iron furnace in each of the places, and not a bloomery only, provided the Court may grant a plantation in any place where the Court thinketh meete, which may not hinder their present proceeding.”

It was in accordance with this grant that Dr. Child, who was one of the undertakers of Winthrop's iron company, Stephen Day, and others, petitioned on May 29, 1644, to settle a plantation on the Nashua River. In 1646 Dr. Child had a controversy with the government, which resulted in his returning to



England in 1647. He corresponded with John Winthrop, Jr., and his letters contain much information about the iron works.<sup>1</sup>

For about ten years Stephen Day was interested in the "Plantation of Nashaway," and, next to John Prescott, one of its chief promoters. As one of the first proprietors he received a grant of twenty acres of land adjoining the grant of John Prescott, which he later sold to Philip Knight. He was chiefly interested in the establishment of the iron works, although his services were frequently sought in the laying out of lots for the early settlers. The advancement of his iron interests required his presence in the town, and he made frequent visits there, some of which were of long duration, as, in a petition to the General Court in 1667, he says he entertained "English and Indians at my own house, from day to day, for some yeares together." He did not, however, make Lancaster his permanent place of abode and did not have his family there, as in the same petition he complains of being obliged to be absent from his family. In 1652 he intended to remove to Lancaster, as in that year he exchanged his grant of three hundred acres which he had received from the General Court, for "forty acres of land lying at Nashaway plantation, with one dwelling house upon it," which was the property of Solomon Johnson, the tailor. In order to hold this land, Day, on the 15th: 1 mo.: 1653, subscribed to "the bond to bind all comers," which the townsmen had agreed upon among themselves, one of the clauses of which reads:

"And for the better Promoteing and seting forward of the Plantation wee Covenant and Agree, That such person or persons of us who have not inhabited this Plantation heretofore and are yett to come to build Improve and Inhabitt, That we will (by the will of God) come upp to build to Plant land and Inhabit at or before one whole yeare be passed next after our

<sup>1</sup> *Massachusetts Historical Society Collections, Fifth Series, Vol. I.*

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acceptance of our Allotments, or els to Loose all our Charges about it, and our Lotts to Return to the Plantation, and to pay five pounds for the use of the Plantation.”<sup>1</sup>

Owing to lack of bog ore the iron works did not prove a success, and the enterprize was abandoned. Day was unable to carry out the conditions of the bond, his rights lapsed, and the property was assigned to John Roper. After the death of Day, fifteen years later, the administrator of his estate, William Boardman, sued Roper for possession of the property. The Court, however, found for the defendant with costs of Court. Accompanying the papers in the case is the following certificate :<sup>2</sup>

“This may certify any man unto whom these presents may com. that about 9 years ago Mr. Day of Cambridge laying claim to a lot sometime in the possession of Goodman Johnson of Marlborough, the Town was willing he should possess provided he would subscribe to the orders of the Town which he readily consented to, and subscribed his hand to our Town book, wherein was this act of the Town upon Record. That everyone bound themselves to build, plant land and inhabit within one whole year after this acceptance of their lots, or els to loose all their charges and Lots and pay 5 lb. to the Town, and hereunto Mr. Day subscribed his hand the 15th 1st month 1653. But he never came to inhabit, nor do anything about building or breaking Land unto this day nor bear any publick charg, but about 6 or 7 years ago goodman Roper who sometime lived at Charlestown, desired to com to live among us, and had a liking to that Lot being Mr. Day had forfeited it by his not keeping covenant with the Town. Yet notwithstanding the Town had so much respect to Mr. Day that they allowed him that goodman Roper should pay to Mr. Day what build-

<sup>1</sup> Nourse's *Annals of Lancaster*, p. 28.

<sup>2</sup> *Middlesex Court Files*.

ings, fencing, &c, might be worth which both Mr. Day and goodman Roper consented unto. They made choise of us whose hands are subscribed to judg betwixt them what it may be worth that is to say the building and fencing as aforesaid, and it was judged that goodman Roper should pay 15<sup>s</sup> to Mr. Day. Lancaster this 9:8 month: 1662.

Witnesses:

JOHN PRESCOTT.

RALPH HOUGHTON.

Sworne in Court 1: 8th: 1667, by the partys subscribed as attests

THOMAS DANFORTH, *Re.*”

Whether Stephen Day's failure to carry out the conditions of the bond was due to the ill success of the iron works, or because the General Court had failed to lay out the three hundred acres that had been granted to him, does not appear, but the following extracts from the *Records of the Massachusetts Bay Colony* would seem to indicate that the latter reason was the cause:

“At a General Court of Elections holden at Boston 29th of May 1655. In answer to the petition of Steeven Day of Cambridge craving that the grant within the year 1641 of this Court of three hundred acres of land to him for recompense of his care and charge of furthering the work of printing, might be recorded the record whereof appears not, the Court grant his request and doth confirm the former grant thereof to him.”

“At a General Court of Elections holden at Boston 6th of May 1657. Steeven Day of Cambridge having often complained that he hath suffered much damage by erecting the printing press at Cambridge, at the request of the Magistrates and Elders, for which he never had yet any considerable satisfaction, This Court do grant him three hundred acres of land in any place not formerly granted by this Court.”

“1658 May 26. In answer to the request of Stephen Day that some meet person or persons might be empowered to lay out three hundred acres of land formerly granted him by this Court, it is ordered that Capt. George Dennison is hereby empowered to lay out the same.”

In recognition of his services in establishing the settlement of the town, in 1665, Stephen Day was granted a lot of land by the town of Lancaster, as appears by the following record:<sup>1</sup>

“*grant to Master day* 2 Feb: 1664, at a generall towne meeting It was upon the Receipt of a leter from master Steeven day of Cambridge granted that the said master day should have a hundred acres of upland twentie acres of it for a house Lotte and to pay 10<sup>s</sup> a yeare as other men doth and fowertie acres of it in Leiw of an Intervaile Lott and to pay as other men doth for an intervaile Lott. And fowertie acres in Lew of a 2 devison and to pay as other men doth for Land in the 2 devison. And this Land to be Laid out neare to Washacomb near to the outside of the bounds and he is to have noe other acomodacions in the towne but only that hundred acres as a farme.”

Forty years after the death of Stephen Day this grant of land was laid out for William Bordman, the grandson of Mrs. Day. It is recorded in the Lancaster *Book of Lands* as follows:

“Laid out for Capt. Bordman one hundred Acres of Land being granted by the town to his Grandfather Stephen Day near Washacomb, one piece of sixty acres thareof Lyeth upon a hill called washacomb hill upon the north side thereof . . . the other fourty acres Lyeth under a Great hill above a meadow called prescutts meadow. . . . Laid out february the 4th: 1718.”

His own estimate of his labors in settling the town are given in the following petition, found in *Massachusetts Archives* XXX, 134-5:

<sup>1</sup> Nourse's *Annals of Lancaster*, p. 79.

*“ To the Honoured Generall Court now sitting at Boston :*

The humble petition of Steven Day : In most humble wise sheweth ; That whereas your Petitioner was one of the first undertakers for the Plantation now called Lancaster, and for the furtherance of the Planting thereof at great expences of time and estate with both English and Indians, for the gaining of a placid entertainment with the one, and helping on the other, as is well known to the Inhabitants of that place, as also in part to my neighbors who were eyewitnesses of my continued burthen, either by being absent from my Family, which was then more considerable than (through God’s Providence to me) now it is : or by entertaining both English and Indians at my own house from day to day for some yeares together ; yet it was so haped, that although many others have increased their estates and comforts, by acquiring to themselves great Accommodations (by reason of divine Providence obstructing my personal residence there) I have failed of such personall Accommodations in that place. And after all my labor and expence of time, strength and estate, although through God’s blessing on my endeavors I have a Town and a Church of God there settled, to behold as the birth of my Labors which I esteem a greater Reward from God, then my own particular advancement ; yet cannot rejoyce in any Lands therein acquired to me or mine. Now so it is, that the Sagamore of that Plantation [Matthew] (his ingenuity somewhat exceeding others of the barbarous Natives,) remembring my former kindnesses, hath by Deed of Gift given and granted unto me and my heires forever, all his Right in a certain Tract of Planting Land, by him there for a long time possessed :

My humble request therefore is for this favor. That a Committee of meet persons appointed by this honoured Court may be empowered to bound out the said Land unto me, according to the intent of the Law determining the Indians Right : with such addition of Meadow as may happen to fall within the

Planting Lands: And the same may be Legally settled on me and mine by the Authority of this honoured Court.

And your Petitioner shall ever pray &c.

*Endorsements.* 1. The Committee having perused this Petition: do Judge meet that 2 or 3 meet persons be impowered to view and bound to the Petitioner, what shall appear to be granted him by the Indians according to the true intent of the law setting the Indians right, and that some small accomodacion of meadow be added thereto not exceeding 40 acres.

THOMAS DANFORTH.

21 — 3 — 1667.

EDWARD COLLINS.

HENRY BARTHOLOMEW.

2. The deputies doe not approve of the returne of the committee in answer to this petition, but doe Judge meete to graunt the petitioner libertie to procure of the said Indians by sale or otherwise to the quantity of one hundred and fifty Acors of upland, and this Court doth also graunt to the petitioner twenty Acors of meadow where he can find it free from former graunts, and all with reference to the Consent of our Honored Magistrates hereto.

24 — 3 — 1667. Consented to by the magistrates.

WILLIAM TORREY *Cleric.*”

After the abandonment of the Lancaster enterprise Mr. Day devoted his attention to his trade as a locksmith. His family had continued to occupy the house in Holyoke Street, and he made it his home when in Cambridge. About 1646 the Glover estate sold this property to John Fownell, and the family then removed to the house on the westerly corner of the present Massachusetts Avenue and Dunster Street, which had been bought by his son Matthew Day. At the death of Matthew it became the property of Mrs. Day during her life, but at her death passed to her grandson Moses Bordman. In this house Ste-

phen resided until his death. The wife of Stephen Day died October 17, 1658. In the early part of 1660, in fulfilment of the bond given by him in 1618, Mr. Day deeds his interest in the house to William Boardman. The deed is recorded in the Middlesex Registry of Deeds, and reads as follows :

“ Know all men to whom these presents come, Whereas I Stephen Day of Cambridge in the Massachusetts Bay in New England, locksmith for and in consideration of a debt of above fifty pounds due as I here acknowledge unto my son-in-law William Bordman, of the same town aforesaid, which I was to pay him for part of his portion given him by his deceased father and due to be paid to him twenty-three years ago, the Lord by his providence having disabled me to perform my duty towards him in that respect, know ye that I Steven Day aforesaid, for and in consideration of the debt aforesaid, due to the above named William Bordman, my son-in-law, do give, grant, bargain, sell, enfeoff, and confirm to him, his heirs, executors, administrators and assigns, all my right, title and interest in my house now standing upon the ground that now is Moses Bordman's, son of the abovesaid William Bordman, as right heir thereunto, I say my right, title and interest in the house with all the appurtenances thereunto belonging, together with all movables therein contained, provided that what is contained, or hereafter may be contained therein, upon just appraisal by two indifferent persons, amount not to above the value of two hundred pounds sterling. Also I do give, grant, bargain, sell, and confirm to him the abovesaid William Bordman, his heirs, executors, and assigns, all lands, houses, and all my rights and titles to them, which now are, or ever may be my own, or that I can claim any right unto henceforward, or anything of estate, provided they amount not to above two hundred pounds, as judged by two indifferent men, the said William Bordman, his

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heirs, executors, administrators, or assigns. To have and to hold the aforesaid bargained premises and assignments, with all and singular the privileges and appurtenances to his and their proper use and uses forever, at the decease of the above named Stephen Day. In witness whereof I said Stephen Day do put to my hand and seal. Before the signing and sealing hereof its declared to be the true meaning hereof, that during the natural life of the said Stephen Day, he the said Stephen shall enjoy all and every part of the above bargained and assigned premises anything contained in this deed notwithstanding, and immediately after his decease the said William Bordman, his heirs, executors and administrators to enter upon the same, and to enjoy it, the whole and every part thereof, according to the true intent hereof, unto the said William Bordman, his heirs and assigns forever.

STEVEN DAY.

Signed, seaed and delivered

in the presence of

JNO. GIBSON, RICHARD CUTTER.

23d March, 16 $\frac{1}{2}$ . Acknowledged by Steven Day to be his act and deed.

Before me, THOMAS DANFORTH.

Entered and recorded the 23d of March, 16 $\frac{1}{2}$ .

By THOMAS DANFORTH, *Recorder.*"

February 28, 1660-1, Stephen Day was "admitted into fellowship and full communion" of the First Church of Cambridge.<sup>1</sup>

On September 3, 1664, Stephen Day married Mrs. Mary Fitch, who survived him. She was the widow of Zachary Fitch of Reading, who died June 7, 1662. Stephen Day died December 22, 1668, aged about 75 years. The inventory of his property made by William Bordman, on January 27, 1668-9, is filed at the Probate Office in East Cambridge, from

<sup>1</sup> *Cambridge Church Records*, p. 24.



which it appears that he was the owner of lands in Lancaster and Cambridge, but the values are not given. His personal estate was appraised at £60, which included the contents of the house and the shop. The shop was appraised at £20. The house and the land on which it stood had been given to William Bordman previously. The inventory of the contents of the shop reads :

3	Bridle Bitts.	9—0
3	pr. Hooks & Hinges.	3—0
4	Smooth Files.	10—0
18	Files.	10—0
2	Files.	2—0
8	Chisels.	4—6
3	Bullett Mould Heads.	2—0
2	pr. Sheires.	10—6
1	Gt. Screw Pate.	} 1—2—6
1	Small with 3 Tops.	
1	Sizing Plate.	5—0
3	pr. Compasses.	10—0
3	Vices.	2—12—0
3	Hammers and Small Tools.	10—0
1	Stock Dull and pr. Tongs.	4—0
1	Burnish and 1 Borer.	4—0
1	Block to unbreak Guns.	6—0
1	Anvill & 1 Beak Horn.	1—10—0
1	pr. Tongs 2 Hearth Stones.	5—0
1	pr. Bellowes.	1—0—0
4	Bridle Bitts.	3—0
	Clearing Chisels & other Tools.	10—0
1	Reel & 3 Pikes.	16—0
14	pr. Joints.	7—0
212	weight of Iron.	1—14—4
2	Smoothing Irons.	} 6—0
3	Knives.	
1	Curry Comb.	
1	Hilt & 1 Chopping Knife.	1—0
1	Hammer.	2—6
1	Grindstone & Winch.	6—0

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There is no mention of any kind of printing materials, which would indicate that he devoted his whole attention to his trade as a locksmith, and he is so styled in the inventory. As mention is made only of the east and west rooms, one of which contained the chamber furniture, and the other evidently was the dining-room and kitchen, it is probable that the house was quite small; was built of wood, one story in height, with a pitched roof; faced to the north, fronting on the present Massachusetts Avenue; and that the front door was in the middle of the north side of the house. There was a room on each side of the front door and a leanto in the rear of these rooms. Between the two rooms there was a small hall-way, from which a narrow winding staircase led to the two attic rooms in the low studded roof. Behind the staircase was the great square chimney, with a fireplace in each of the rooms. The shop evidently was a separate building, probably in the rear of the house, facing Dunster Street.

Among the few known documents signed by Stephen Day, and the still fewer letters written and signed by Day, of which documents and letters the writer knows of seven, there are possibly two in which Day has written his surname with the *e* final. In the remaining five it is written without the *e* final. In the body of the documents written by the clerks of the General Court, the law courts, and the towns, notably by Thomas Danforth, as a general rule the surname is written without the *e* final. As, therefore, the use of the *e* final is exceptional, in this sketch, with the exception of quotations, the spelling which Mr. Day himself used the greater number of times has been followed.

By the courtesy of the official having in charge the Middlesex County Files, we have been permitted to make a photo-engraving of one of the depositions in File 1656, *Glover vs. Dunster*. It reads:

“ Wee whose names are underwritten, being desired to give an account of the revenews of the printing presse, dureing the time it was improved by Mr. Dunster, and for that end having spent some time together to recount the severall impressions that have gone forth from the same dureing the time that Mr. Dunster had the dispose thereof, wee do find that a Just allowance being given for the hire of the laborers about the presse (or at least such as was allowed the printers); and for the paper with other small expences for utensils about the presse: the remainder of the profits doth amount to about £192—00—00 which we do conceive is rather lesse then otherwise and this we conceive to be the truth according to our best knowledge, being employed about the workes and In witnes thereof do subscribe our names, 26. 11. mo. 1655.

STEVEN DAY

SAMUEL GREEN :

Sworne in Court by Steven Day.

2 (2) 56. THO: DANFORTH, Recorder ”

Reviewing this sketch of the life of Stephen Day, it would seem to have been shown that he was brought to New England under contract with Mr. Glover, to engage in the manufacture of iron; that his connection with the press was accidental; that his appointment as manager was due to the fact that his sons, who had been brought over to do the printing under the supervision of Mr. Glover, by reason of their minority were prohibited by law from engaging in business as master workmen; that as soon as he was released from the management of the press he engaged with Governor Winthrop to prospect for iron-ore; and that the remainder of his life was spent either in the manufacture of iron or in working at his trade as a locksmith.

was which named art was written, being desired to  
give an act. of the recovery of the <sup>printing</sup> profits. dur-  
ing the time it was imprinted by m<sup>r</sup> Dunston, and  
for that end having sent some time to you to  
account the several impositions that have gone  
forth from your hands. During the time that m<sup>r</sup>  
Dunston had the disposal thereof. and we do find  
that a just allowance being given for the hire  
of the laborers, about 40000, [or at least such as  
was allowed to the printers] and for the  
paper, with other several expenses for binding  
about the profits. ~~the~~ the remainder of the  
profits doth amount to about. 192. 00. 00.  
m<sup>r</sup> we do conceive is rather less than otherwise  
and this we conceive to be the truth according  
to o<sup>r</sup> best knowledge, being employed about this  
work, and in witness thereof do subscribe our names  
this. 26. 11. m<sup>o</sup>. 1654.

John Green  
Samuel Green.

Barre m. Court by Steven Day.  
2. (2) 56. The Danforth Overdoor



**Matthew Day**

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## Matthew Day

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**M**ATTHEW DAY was born in Cambridge, England, in 1620 or 1621. According to the custom of the time, at the age of fourteen he was entered as an apprentice to some trade, probably that of a printer. In 1638, after having worked for four years at the trade, being an intelligent young man and quick to learn, as proved by after events, he would have mastered many of the mysteries of the art. If his brother Stephen, Jr., had also been apprenticed to a printer, being a year or two older, he would have been even farther advanced than Matthew, and the two together would have been able to turn out a creditable job of printing. It was at this time that Mr. Glover was seeking for printers to go with him to New England to work his press, and finding it difficult to procure them. The prospect was not bright enough to induce a master printer to leave England, as there would be no other printing office in the colonies, and if Mr. Glover's project was not a success the printer would be unable to support himself by his trade. But to a young and enthusiastic apprentice, who was promised a much more responsible position than he could possibly expect at home, and the prospect of having the management of the press when he had attained his majority, the view would have been enticing and the opportunity one that should not be lost.

Mr. Glover also was very anxious to secure printers, and could not afford to be too particular as to the quality of the work. Given youth, intelligence, and practice, he felt confident that the printing soon would be satisfactory. In the Day



family Mr. Glover found the two kinds of workmen he was seeking. In the father he would secure the services of an expert worker in iron, who would be of great service to him in his plans of establishing iron works, and in the two promising young printers the success of the printing office would seem to be assured. A contract was easily arranged, and the whole Day family removed to New England.

The death of Mr. Glover, however, caused a change in the plans; and the printing office, instead of being opened under the supervision of Mr. Glover, appears to have been placed under the management of Stephen Day, whose expectation of assisting in setting up a bloomery had to be deferred to a later date and to another employer. Stephen Day, in name at least, managed the printing office during the minority of his sons. On June 21, 1641, Mr. Dunster married Mrs. Glover, and the management of the whole estate was assumed by him. As the young printers had attained their majority, there was no longer any need of the father; and as he was eager to engage in a business which was more agreeable to him, it is possible that about this time Stephen Day resigned the management of the press, and that Matthew was appointed in his place, subject, of course, to the supervision of Mr. Dunster.

The following extract from a letter written by Samuel Green to John Winthrop, Jr., one of the Commissioners of the United Colonies, dated July 6, 1675, would seem to strengthen the idea that even from the first Stephen Day had been only the nominal head of the office, while the real working head had been Matthew. It reads:

“It is about the employment I was called unto when there was none in the country to carry it along, after the death of him that was brought over for that work by Mr. Jose Glover.”<sup>1</sup>

The meaning of this statement by Samuel Green, the successor

<sup>1</sup> For entire letter, see *infra*, Vol. II, pp. 8-10.

of Matthew Day, is remarkably clear, and throws a flood of light upon a doubtful point. He can refer only to Matthew Day, who died on May 10, 1649. Green himself was five or six years older than Matthew Day, and it is not very probable that he made any mistake in this statement.

The idea is also strengthened by an examination of the few extant books printed during the first ten years of the office. The earliest known specimen is *The Whole Booke of Psalmes, Imprinted 1640*. Naturally, the workmanship on this book does not show the skill of a master printer, nor have we any reason for supposing we should find it there. We should look for the crude work of an apprentice, and that is exactly what we find. Isaiah Thomas says, "it abounds in typographical errors, but that the press work was passable." With more experience the printer made great improvements; and three years later we find that the typographical errors which are so noticeable in the Psalm Book of 1640 have largely disappeared in the next extant specimen of the press, namely, a List of Theses at the Harvard Commencement in 1643, which is indeed a creditable performance, as may be seen from Dr. Samuel A. Green's photographic facsimile reproduction.<sup>1</sup>

In 1645 appears *A Declaration of Former Passages and Proceedings Betwixt the English and the Narrowgansetts* and Samuel Danforth's *Almanack for the Year 1646*, which show that the printer was striving hard to improve his work. In 1646 the improvement is quite noticeable, and in the imprint of the only extant book printed in that year the printer has made a great innovation, as, for the first time, it contains the place where the book was printed, the name of the printer, by whom and where sold, and the year in which it was printed. A single copy only of this book is known to be extant, the title-page of which reads:

<sup>1</sup> *Ten Facsimile Reproductions relating to New England.*

*MDCXLVII. An | Almanack | for the Year of our | Lord | 1647 | — | Calculated for the Longitude of 315 | degr. and Elevation of the Pole Ar- | ctick 42 degr. & 30 min. and may ge- | nerally serve for the most part of | New England. | By Samuel Danforth of Harvard Colledge | Philomathemat. | Cambridge | Printed by Matthew Day. | Are to be sold by Hez. Usher at Boston. | 1647.*

This is the only book in which Matthew Day's name appears in the imprint.

In 1647 there was published *The Whole Book of Psalmes, Faithfully translated into English Metre. Imprinted 1647.* Although not so stated on the title-page or elsewhere in the book, it is the second edition of what is popularly known as *The Bay Psalm Book*, first printed in 1640, and Matthew Day is credited with being its printer. It is a reprint in smaller size of the first edition without additions, but with slight amendments of the phraseology and changes in the spelling and punctuation. The title-pages of the two editions are identical with the exception of the date of printing and the addition of a biblical verse. In both editions the printer's name and place of publication were omitted. The first edition contained two hundred and ninety-five pages, including title-page and errata, and the second three hundred pages. The typographical appearance of the second edition is so superior to the first edition that it has given rise to the claim that it was printed in England. But during the eight years in which Matthew Day had been engaged in printing in Cambridge he had so improved the appearance of his work that in 1647 his books compared favorably with the publications of his English brethren. The improvement which Day made year by year may be seen by an inspection of the books printed by him from 1640 to 1649. It is only within the present year that any adequate inspection could have been made. The few known copies of books printed during

these years formerly were widely scattered and difficult of access. The gathering together in his collection by Mr. E. Dwight Church of Brooklyn, N. Y., of the 1640 edition of the Psalm Book, the Almanacks of 1646, 1647, and 1648, and the Code of 1648; of the Theses of 1643 and 1647, and the Declaration of 1645 in the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society; and of the 1647 edition of the Psalm Book in the John Carter Brown Library renders an inspection to-day comparatively easy.

At the suggestion of the writer Mr. George Parker Winship, librarian of the John Carter Brown Library, and Dr. Samuel A. Green, librarian of the Massachusetts Historical Society, made a comparison side by side of the 1647 edition of *The Whole Book of Psalmes* with the 1647 edition of the *Thesis*. As a result of this comparison Dr. Green says, "I am inclined to think the book came from Daye's press." Mr. Winship expresses the opinion that "the fragment of the Thesis of 1647 showed that Day was capable of doing as good printing as that of the 1647 Psalm Book." Mr. Winship also compared the two editions of the Psalm Book, but as they are printed on different kinds of paper and with different fonts of type the comparison proved nothing. Mr. Winship calls attention to the fact that the 1647 edition of the Psalm Book is printed on letter paper in which the watermark is a pitcher surmounted by a crescent. It is not known that Day used this kind of paper in any other of his publications. Mr. Winship found several specimens of letter paper containing a similar watermark among the Winthrop Papers in the archives of the Massachusetts Historical Society. They were autograph letters written to Winthrop by various persons in the Massachusetts Bay Colony. The copy of the *Almanack for 1647* in the library of Mr. E. D. Church formerly belonged to the Rev. Samuel Hough, who was a minister in Reading in 1647, and was interleaved by

him. At the request of Mr. Winship, Mr. George Watson Cole, the librarian of Mr. Church, made an examination of this almanac and reports as follows :

“RIVERSIDE, CONN., Oct. 22, 1906.

“MY DEAR MR. WINSHIP:— I was at Mr. Church’s house to-day for the first time since receiving your letter containing tracings of watermarks, initials, and type-ornaments. I carefully examined the Cambridge almanacks and the Bay Psalm Book, but found nothing resembling your tracings except that in one of the almanacks, that for 1647, I found that one of the interleaves had a watermark which closely resembled your sketch.”

It would therefore seem to be very evident that there would have been no difficulty in procuring in Massachusetts the paper on which the 1647 edition of the Psalm Book was printed, and that the opinion that Matthew Day was the printer is indorsed by gentlemen who have examined several of Mr. Day’s known publications and are eminently qualified to judge.

Danforth’s *Almanack for the Year 1647* was printed only a short time after the removal of the press from the house in Holyoke Street to the President’s house, and it is presumed that Mr. Dunster celebrated the event by furnishing the press with fonts of new type, which enabled Matthew Day to make the great improvements in the typographical appearance of the books as shown in this almanac, and in all succeeding books. Matthew Day printed Samuel Danforth’s *Almanack for the Year 1648* in the earlier months of 1648, according to our method of reckoning, but which according to the former method of reckoning would have been the later months of 1647, the year at that time commencing in March. In the same year he printed *The Booke of Lawes*, as at a session of the General Court held at Boston on October 27, 1648.

“It is ordered by the full Courte, that the bookes of lawes,

now at the presse, may be sould in quires, at three shillings the booke; provided that every member of this Courte shall have one without price and the auditer generall, and Mr. Joseph Hill, for which there shall be 50 in all so disposed, by appointment of this Courte."

Further evidence in regard to the *Booke of Lawes* is found among the Dunster MSS. in the archives of Harvard College, in which is an affidavit signed by Stephen Day and Samuel Green which relates to the cost of printing several of the early publications of the Cambridge press. It is accompanied by a document which gives details of the amount of paper used, cost of printing, etc. These papers evidently were used in the lawsuits between President Dunster and the Glover heirs. Both Day and Green give a list of the books printed by each of them, and among the books "printed by Mr. Day" was *The Booke of Lawes*, upon which was the following estimate: An edition of 600 copies, 17 sheets to a copy, would have required 21 reams of paper which would have cost £5-5-0. The printing would have cost £15-16-03. The receipts from the sale of the 600 copies at 17d. a copy, would have amounted to £42-10-0, and the profits on this job accruing to Mr. Dunster were estimated at £21-08-09.<sup>1</sup>

Although according to this document Day printed six hundred copies of *The Booke of Lawes*, yet in the course of time the whole edition passed so completely out of sight that it became the general belief that no copy was in existence, and it was considered a "lost" book. Although zealously sought for by such tireless bookhunters as Charles R. Hildeburn, George H. Moore, and William H. Whitmore, no trace of any copy could be found. In his "Introduction" to the reprint of *The Colonial Laws of Massachusetts, 1672*, published in 1890, Mr. Whitmore says: "The edition of 1649 (sic) is doubtless hope-

<sup>1</sup> *Proceedings American Antiquarian Society*, New Series, Vol. V, p. 302.

lessly lost, no copy being now known." Within a few months, however, the unexpected has happened, and the truth of the old proverb that "everything comes to him who waits and works" again has been proved. At last a copy has been found in a small private library in England, bound with several other pamphlets, has been brought to America, and is to-day perhaps the brightest gem in the remarkable collection of books in the possession of Mr. E. Dwight Church, of Brooklyn, New York.

It is folio in size, untrimmed, and contains thirty-two leaves, the remaining two leaves, called for by the Day and Green document, being missing. The size of the leaf is 12 by 7 $\frac{1}{8}$  inches. The collation is as follows: Title, verso blank, 2 p.: Preface, 2 p. (iii-iv): text with heading *The Book of the General Laws and Libertyes*, pp. 1-59; p. 60 blank. The two missing leaves probably contained "the table which we have added in the end" referred to in the *Preface*.

The title-page reads:

*The | Book Of The General | Lawes And Libertyes | Concerning  
The Inhabitants Of The Massachusets. | Collected Out Of The  
Records Of The General Court | For The Several Years Wherein  
They Were Made | And Established, | And now revised by the same  
Court and disposed into an Alphabetical order | and published by the  
same Authoritie in the General Court | held at Boston the fourteenth  
of the | first month Anno | 1647. | Whosoever therefore resisteth  
the power, resisteth the ordinance of God, | and they that resist re-  
ceive to themselves damnation. Romanes 13.2. | [Ornament.] Cam-  
bridge. | Printed according to order of the General Court | 1648. |  
And are to be solde at the shop of Hezekiah Usher | in Boston. |*

Several other books are known to have been printed by Matthew Day, but no copies are known to be extant. The last book extant upon which Day worked is *An Almanack for the Year 1649. By Samuel Danforth. Cambridge, 1649*, printed before March 25, 1649. What was really Day's last printed

book is not known. He literally died in harness, as in his nuncupative will made on the day he died he gives directions for the disposition of eight pounds due to him for printing, and his successor was not appointed until after his death.

Matthew Day was steadier and more thrifty than his father, and, considering the few years he was in business, acquired a handsome property. Among his friends were Rev. Thomas Shepard, Rev. Henry Dunster, Rev. John Brock, "my ould and deare friend," John Bulkley, and Edmund Frost, Ruling Elder of the Church.

In 1646 he purchased a house and half a rood of land, on the westerly corner of Dunster Street and Massachusetts Avenue, to which the Day family immediately removed. He was thus able to furnish a home for his mother while his father was engaged in those iron speculations which ate up all his capital. Whenever he was in Cambridge, between 1646 and 1654, Stephen Day made this house his home. After 1654 he resided there permanently, having settled down to his trade as a locksmith. The land had been an original grant to Edward Stebins, one of the early settlers, and upon it he had built the house. On May 2, 1636, he sold the house and land to Nicholas Danforth, who was acting as agent for Edward Collins. The next owner, apparently, was Nathan Aldis of Dedham, who was in possession as early as 1642. He was not a resident of the town, but had bought for investment. He held possession as late as 1645, as, in that year, in a division of lands on the Menotomy River, he received four acres as a householder, but in 1647-48 there was "laid out to Matthew Day for the house that was Goodman Aldis fifty acres of land." It is very probable, therefore, that the purchase was made about 1646, at which time Mr. Dunster sold the house on Holyoke Street.

Matthew Day was also the owner of three-quarters of an acre of land on the northerly side of the present Massachusetts



Avenue, a little east of Holyoke Street, which he is presumed to have bought as early as 1645, as in that year, in a division of land on the west side of the Menotomy River, by the town to the several inhabitants, Matthew Day received three acres. This lot of land had also been granted about 1633 to Edward Stebbins, and had been sold by him on May 2, 1636, to Edward Collins. As early as 1638 Collins had sold to Thomas Marrett, who held possession as late as 1642, but shortly after sold to John Bulkley, George Downing, John Alcock, and Samuel Winthrop. On December 20, 1645, John Bulkley gave to Harvard College his portion, namely, one-fourth of a "garden containing about an acre and one rood of land situate and near adjoining to the College and ordered the same to be for the use of the fellows that should from time to time belong to and be resident at the said Society, the said garden being commonly called and known by the name of the Fellows Orchard."<sup>1</sup>

The garden is described by Sibley as follows:<sup>2</sup> "The boundary extended from what was then called Braintree Street, now Harvard Street, northerly on a line with the west side of the present site of Gore Hall nearly to the northern end of that building, thence easterly through it 91 feet, whence it took a southerly direction 398 feet 6 inches to the street, the front being wider than the rear of the lot." The remaining three-quarters evidently had been sold to Matthew Day, which he gave to Harvard College in 1649.

At the time of his death Matthew Day was also the steward of Harvard College, which would seem to indicate that the business of the press was neither sufficient to support him, nor to occupy all his time. He died, unmarried, on May 10, 1649. His nuncupative will, made on the day of his death, and an inventory of the personal property he gave to his mother, are

<sup>1</sup> *College Book, No. III, p. 32.*

<sup>2</sup> *Sibley's Harvard Graduates, I, p. 53.*

recorded in the Middlesex Registry of Deeds at East Cambridge. They show that in the short space of eight years an enterprising young man, by paying strict attention to business, could not only support himself and very materially help his father and mother, but could also accumulate a very respectable property.

“The Last Will & Testament of Matthew Day May 10, 1649. I doe give with all my heart all that part I have in the Garden unto the Fellowes of Harvard Colledge for ever.

2. I doe give to Mrs. Shepard my diaper table cloath & napkins which were not yet made up.

3. I doe give my three silver spoones, the one to David Dunster, the other to Doraty Dunster, & the 3d that hath my owne name on it, which I brought out of England to my old acquaintance little Samuel Shepard.

4. I doe give to my mother all the estate I have in both the houses together with all the furniture beds and all moveables (my debts being first paid) to her for her life and when she dies to the little Childe Moyses.

5. I doe give to Sir Brocke (myould and deare friend) all the bookes I have which he thinkes may be usefull to him, except those which may serve for the trayneing up of the childe to schoole.

6. I doe give to my mother that eight pound or there about which is due to me for printing, to pay for the house which is due at michalemas.

7. I would have Daniell and Mary Lemon and my mothers girle have something given them as Mr. Shepard and my mother shall see meet.

8. I doe give my Ivory Inkhorne in my box with a whistle in it unto Jeremy Shepard.

9. I give 20<sup>s</sup> in mony which once I had and layd out for

the Colledge and is to be paid by it in mony againe unto Mr. Thomas Shepard.

10. I give unto John Glover my lookeing Glasse.

11. I give to Elder Frost foure pounds.

Those before whom he spake these things were

M<sup>r</sup> Tho : Shepard

M's Day

Deposed the 30th. 8th mo. 1649

Recorded

Increase Nowell

2 9th mo

1649.

*An Inventory of Such Goods Which Matthew Day Deceased Gave His Mother.*

A downe feather bed, 4 pillowes, a boulder. 2 blankets. a green Irish Rug. 5 greene curtaines, a payre of vallens of the same with a bedstead.

A feather bed, a bolster, a blanket and a coverlett, with a bedstead.

Three payre of sheets and one, 2 payre of pillow beeres, 4 table napkins: a carpet and a window Curtaine, 2 Cushins, a basin, 2 porringers, 2 saucers, a butter plate, a salt sollar, a dram-cup, a chamber pott.

A great chest, 2 boxes a trunke, a chaaye, and a stoole.

Three suits of apparrell, 5 shifts, 6 handkercheifes and six caps, with nine bands.

A cloath coate, a stufte cloake, with 2 hatts, and some other trifles.

A young heffer, one pound ten shillings that was lent to the Colledge in monies, with twenty shillings in wheate and pease, and that for his wages which is due to him from the Colledge."

In the eastern wall of the brick building now standing on the Day lot is a bronze tablet with an inscription which reads :

HERE LIVED  
STEPHEN DAYE  
FIRST PRINTER IN  
BRITISH AMERICA  
1638—1668

It is a fact that Stephen Day lived here from 1646 to 1668, but at no time during his residence here was he connected with the press ; nor did he ever own the property. Would it not be eminently proper to commemorate also Matthew Day, who devoted the greater portion of his life while in Cambridge to the press, and without whose purchase of the house which originally stood upon this lot Stephen Day probably never would have lived here?



## **The Second Printing Office**

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## The Second Printing Office

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**A**LTHOUGH the printing press was bought by Mr. Glover, set up in a house belonging to the Glover estate, and operated by workmen employed by the trustees of the Glover estate, yet a portion at least of the type belonged to Harvard College, having been purchased with funds contributed by friends of the college. Some arrangement, therefore, had to be made by the trustees of the Glover estate with the government of the college for the use of this type. What this arrangement was does not appear, but we obtain a glimpse of it from the Colonial Treasurer's account with the college, which he rendered in 1644. Under the heading, "The country hath paid the Colledge as followeth," is the entry,

"1642. Henry Dunster received £9, of which 12s. 6d. for printing the laws:—for the Colledge received 8-7-6," from which it would appear that for what was considered strictly college business the office received the actual cost of printing, while the profits of the sales went to the college. For all other business the college was paid for the use of the type. The "laws" here referred to were the *Capital Laws*, which had been ordered to be printed by the General Court as follows:

"1642, 14 June. It is ordered, that such laws as make any offence to be capital shall forthwith be imprinted and published, of which laws the Secretary is to send a copy to the printer, when it hath been examined by the Governor or Mr. Bellingham with himself, and the Treasurer to pay for the printing of them."

The *Capital Laws* occupied only one page of the *Body of*



*Liberties*, the first code of laws adopted by the General Court of the Massachusetts Bay Colony. This code was not printed, but nineteen copies were transcribed for the use of the officials requiring them. Although no printed copy of the *Capital Laws* is known to be extant, yet it probably did not occupy more than one folio page. Evidently Mr. Dunster considered that the college was entitled to the profits on this job, and retained for the printing office only the actual cost of printing.

The press in England was under the supervision of the government there, and in like manner the Glover printing office was under the supervision of the Massachusetts Bay Colony. As it was an appendage of the college, it came under the immediate supervision of the "Committee as to the Colledge at Newtowne," which had been appointed by the General Court, November 20, 1637.

This committee was composed of six of the magistrates and six of the clergymen; but on September 27, 1642, because some of the committee had removed from this jurisdiction,

"It is therefore ordered, that the Governor and Deputy for the time being and all the magistrates of the jurisdiction, together with the teaching elders of the six next adjoining towns, that is, Cambridge, Watertown, Charlestown, Boston, Roxbury, and Dorchester, and the president of the college for the time being, shall have from time to time full power and authority to make and establish all such orders, statutes, and constitutions as they shall see necessary for the instituting, guiding, and furthering of the said college and the several members thereof from time to time in piety, morality and learning: as also that they shall have full power to dispose, order, and manage, to the use and behoof of the said college and members thereof, all gifts, legacies, bequeathals, revenues, lands and donations, as either have been, are, or shall be conferred, bestowed or anyways shall fall to the said college."

As president of the college, and as one of the trustees of

the Glover estate, Mr. Dunster obtained complete control of the printing office. The death of Mrs. Dunster, on August 23, 1643, brought about a great change in Mr. Dunster's affairs, as his wife had only a life interest in the Glover estate. The property must be divided among the heirs, and the real estate must be sold. Mr. Dunster would therefore be obliged to seek a residence elsewhere, and the question of lodging was again of vital interest to him. We have seen that in 1644 Mr. Dunster married a second time, and somewhat later removed to the president's house, which had been built for him on the college grounds. The house on Holyoke Street which had been occupied by the Day family as a dwelling house, and as a printing office, was sold, and the tenants were obliged to vacate. Matthew Day, as we have seen, bought a house and half a rood of land on the western corner of Massachusetts Avenue and Dunster Street, but Mr. Dunster removed the printing office to a room on the first floor of the president's house, which thus became the second home of the Glover press. Although Mr. Dunster had the general management of the printing office, yet the actual running of the press and the oversight of the printers was under the personal supervision of Matthew Day, who had been placed in this responsible position by Mr. Dunster.

Matthew Day had been admitted as a freeman on May 6, 1646, and it may have been because he was now a freeman, a householder, and held the actual supervision of the printing office, that he placed his name in the imprint of the *Almanack for 1647*.

The "committee as to the college," of which Mr. Dunster was a member by virtue of his office as president, and which became known as the "Board of Overseers," was found to be too large for immediate direction, and on May 31, 1650, an act was passed by the General Court by which the college was

made a corporation, consisting of the president, five fellows, and a treasurer, to be called by the name of "President and Fellows of Harvard College." This corporation had power to make orders and by-laws for carrying on the work of the college "provided the said orders be allowed by the Overseers."

The printing office remained under the supervision of these successive boards until October, 1662, when the General Court appointed Major Daniel Gookin and Rev. Jonathan Mitchell licensers of the press, without whose approval nothing could be printed, as some books had been printed which were judged by the General Court or the Clergy to be too liberal or heretical, and the president of the college ceased to have control of the publications of the printing office.

On May 27, 1663, the General Court "ordered that the Printing Presse be at liberty as formerly, till this Court shall take further order, and the late order is hereby repealed," but on May 27, 1665, for reasons which will appear later, much stronger restrictions were placed upon the press.

The supervision of the publications of the printing office did not affect the ownership of the press. It was the property of the Glover estate, and as trustee of the estate Mr. Dunster received the profits until he left the president's house in March, 1655, when he sold it to the college. In his lawsuit with the Glover heirs he was compelled to account for these profits, and the sale of the press is proved by a document found among the Dunster Manuscripts, which reads :

"I Steven Day do attest that the paper which Mr. Josse Glover provided to bring over for the Use of the printing presse cost in England £60 which paper excepting six pounds worth that His wife sould hath been used for printing by Mr. Dunster's order, until such time as Mr. Dunster sould the presse to the Colledge upon his removall from thence and then

he caried away such part of it as did remaine, And as I have been enformed by the printer it was about 12 Rheams that he so caried away with him.

Attested upon oath the 1 (2) 56 by Steven Day.

THOMAS DANFORTH Recorder."

The exact date of the removal of the printing office from "Mr. Dayes house," as it was designated by Mr. Dunster, to the "president's house" has not been ascertained. The death of Mrs. Dunster necessitated the sale of the houses and lands held in trust by the feoffees of the Glover estate and the distribution of the estate among the heirs. This would naturally take some time, and the sale of "Mr. Dayes house" is presumed to have been made in 1646, the same year in which Matthew Day is supposed to have bought from Nathan Aldis the house and land on Braintree Street. The sale of "Mr. Dayes house" would necessitate the removal of the press, but probably it was not removed until the completion of the president's house, which was late in 1645 or early in 1646. That the house was sold is proven from the following entry in *The Proprietors' Records* :

"13 (1) 1647

Mr. Henry Dunster Bought of John Fownell, one Dwelling house with about a rood of ground, Richard Champney North, William Towne, Nathaniel Hancock West, John Russell Francis Moore and Crooked street south, and Crooked street East, which sayd house John Fownell had formerly bought of the sayd Mr. Henry Dunster, but was neglected to bee entered."

In his lawsuit with the Glover heirs for an accounting of his management of the Glover estate Mr. Dunster presents an inventory of his receipts in which it appears that "Mr. Dayes house sold for thirty pounds."

Although Mr. Dunster had resigned the office of president

in October, 1654, yet he was permitted to occupy the president's house until March, 1655. The press, having been sold to the college, remained in the president's house. The incoming president, Rev. Charles Chauncy, who had been chosen in November, 1654, had a large family and needed the whole house. As he did not receive the profits of the press he probably asked to have it removed. Something had already been done to provide a home for the press. In the inventory of the college property taken in 1654 are the following items, viz. :

“Item. A printing press, with all its appurtenances, now in the occupation of Samuel Green Printer, the particulars whereof are expressed in an Inventory given in by the said Printer to the President, valued the whole at eighty pounds.

“Item. One small house unfinished intended for a printing house.”

In “Information given by the Corporation and Overseers to the General Court 9th of May 1655,” one of the paragraphs reads :

“The Revenue of the press (which is but small) must at present be improved for the finishing of the print house, its continuance in the President's house being (besides other inconveniences) dangerous and hurtful to the edifice thereof.”

Evidently the college was erecting as fast as the profits of the printing office could allow a building in which to place its recently acquired press. These profits, however, were very small, and the progress was slow. It was with great difficulty that the buildings which the college already possessed were kept in decent repair, and for lack of accommodation several of the students were lodged in the private families in the town. Where this “print-house” was situated, and when it was finished does not appear in the *College Books*. It probably never was finished or occupied. What little evidence there is would seem to show that the question of a “print-house”

was settled in a very different manner from that intended by the college, and was intimately connected with the labors of the Rev. John Eliot, the Indian missionary. It has been deemed proper, therefore, to hastily sketch the early life of Mr. Eliot, in order to show how this connection was brought about.



**Reverend John Eliot**

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## Reverend John Eliot

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**T**HAT the propagation of the gospel and the conversion of the heathen were very prominent ideas in the minds of those English gentlemen who, in the early part of the seventeenth century, were considering a project for settling a colony in New England would seem to be sufficiently proved by a few extracts from contemporary documents.

When John Winthrop was considering the question of removing to New England, he prepared a paper on the subject of colonization which, in May, 1629, he sent to friends of the New England enterprise for examination and approval. Among these friends were Rev. Francis Higginson, John Hampden, Sir John Eliot, and Rev. John White. Four independent copies of this paper are in existence, all of which have been printed.<sup>1</sup> Although the text of these copies varies slightly, each copyist having added some opinions of his own, yet in the main they are true copies of Winthrop's paper. The essay is usually referred to as "General considerations for the plantation in New England," which is the title given to it when printed by Thomas Hutchinson in *A Collection of Original Papers relative to the History of the Colony of Massachusetts-Bay. Boston, New-England: 1769*. The title as taken from a copy made by Sir John Eliot reads, *Reasons to be considered for justifying the undertakers of the intended plantation in New-England and for encouraging such whose hearts God shall move to join with them in it*. The first reason given reads: "It will be a service to

<sup>1</sup> See *Mass. Hist. Soc'y Proceedings*, 1864-1865.

the church of great consequence to carry the gospel into those parts of the world, to help on the coming in the fulness of the Gentiles and to raise a bulwark against the kingdom of Anti-christ, which the Jesuits labour to rear in those parts."

The second reads: "All other churches of Europe are brought to desolation, and our sins for which the Lord begins already to frown upon us do threaten us fearfully, and who knows but that God hath provided this place to be a refuge for many whom he means to save out of the general calamity, and seeing the church hath no place left to fly into but the wilderness, what better work can there be than to go before and provide tabernacles and food for her against she cometh hither."

Another paragraph reads: "It is the revealed will of God that the gospel should be preached to all nations, and though we know not whether these barbarians will receive it at first or not, yet it is a good work to serve God's providence in offering it to them, and this is fittest to be done by God's own servants for God shall have glory by it, though they refuse it, and there is good hope that the posterity shall by this means be gathered into Christ's sheepfold."

In the Charter of the Colony of the Massachusetts Bay in New England, which passed the seals March 4, 1628-9, the section which relates to the establishment of laws, orders, etc., for the government of the plantation empowers the General Court "to make, ordain and establish . . . wholesome and reasonable laws . . . for the directing, ruling, and disposing of all other matters and things whereby our said people, inhabitants there, may be so religiously, peaceably, and civilly governed, as their good life and orderly conversation may win and incite the natives of the country to the knowledge and obedience of the only true God and Savior of mankind, and the Christian faith, which, in our royal intention and the adventurers free profession, is the principal end of this plantation."

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In *The Planter's Plea*, published anonymously in London in 1630, but generally credited to the Rev. John White of Dorchester, England, the originator of the plan which resulted in the Massachusetts Charter, which is a strong argument in favor of colonization, and contains a concise history of the attempts up to that time, the author says: "The most eminent and desirable end of planting Colonies is the propagation of religion," that "The English nation is fit to undertake the task" and "New England is a fit country for the seating of an English colony for this purpose."

Notwithstanding these declarations, no earnest efforts for improving the condition of the Indians were made for sixteen years after the arrival of Winthrop and his associates at Salem. We have not far to look to discover the cause of this seeming indifference. During these years the hands of the colonists were employed in clearing the land, in erecting buildings, in tilling the soil, and in defending their families and property from the ravages of the wild beasts, and the incursions of the very Indians they had come over to convert. Their minds were occupied in selecting suitable locations for their towns, in allotting lands, in establishing the civil government, and in arranging their religious affairs. They were so actively engaged in the struggle for existence, and interested in their home duties, that they had no time to devote to the welfare of the Indians. Indeed, they neglected so much the education of their own children that in 1642 the General Court passed an order compelling the people to educate their children and apprentices.

There was published in London in 1643 the first of a series of reports relative to the conversion of the aborigines of New England, commonly known as the *Eliot Tracts*. The authorship has been ascribed to Rev. John Eliot and the title reads: *New Englands First Fruits; in respect, First of the Conversion of some — Conviction of divers — Preparation of sundry — of the*

*Indians. 2. Of the progresse of Learning, in the Colledge at Cambridge in Massachusetts Bay. With Divers other speciall Matters concerning that Countrey. Published by the instant request of sundry Friends, who desire to be satisfied in these points by many New-England Men who are here present, and were eye or eare-witnesses of the same. London, Printed by R. O. and G. D. for Henry Overton, and are to be sold at his Shop in Popes-head Alley. 1643.*

This tract is extremely interesting and contains the first reliable information concerning the progress of learning in the New England colony. It is small quarto in form, contains sixteen leaves, and is so scarce that at the Barlow sale in 1889 a copy brought one hundred and eighty dollars. The first paragraph describes the condition of affairs during the earlier years of the colony. It reads: "After God had carried us safe to New England and we had builded our houses, provided necessaries for our livelihood, reared convenient places for God's worship and settled the civil government, one of the next things we longed for and looked after was to advance learning and perpetuate it to posterity; dreading to leave an illiterate ministry to the churches, when our present ministers shall lie in the dust."

During this year another governing board had been incorporated which, in a few years, became very closely connected with the Colonial press and the propagation of the gospel, and it therefore seemed eminently proper that some notice should be taken of it. On May 19, 1643, the colonies of Plymouth, Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New Haven, being "encompassed with people of several nations and strange languages which hereafter may prove injurious to us or our posterity . . . do conceive it our bounden duty without delay to enter into a present consociation among ourselves, for mutual help and strength in all our future concernments. . . . Wherefore it is fully agreed and concluded by and between the parties or juris-

# NEVV ENGLANDS FIRST FRUITS:

IN RESPECT,

First of the { Conversion of some,  
Conviction of divers, } of the *Indians*.  
Preparation of sundry

2. Of the progreſſe of *Learning*, in the Colledge at  
CAMBRIDGE in *Maſſachuſets Bay*.

WITH

Divers other ſpeciall Matters concerning that *Country*.

Published by the inſtant requeſt of ſundry Friends, who deſire  
to be ſatiſfied in theſe points by many *New-England Men*  
who are here preſent, and were eye or care-  
wittneſſes of the ſame.

*Who haſt deſpiſed the Day of ſmall things. Zach. 4. 10.*

*If thou wert pure and upright, ſurely now he will awake for thee: — And though  
thy beginnings be ſmall, thy latter end ſhall be great, & increaſe. Job. 8 6, 7.*



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L O N D O N,

Printed by R. O and G. D. for Henry Overton, and are to be  
ſold at his Shop in *Popes-head-Alley*. 1 6 4 3.

*By permission of Mr. Frederick Lewis Gay, Brookline*



dictions above named, and they jointly and severally do by these presents agree and conclude that they all be and henceforth be called by the name of *The United Colonies of New England*. The said *United Colonies* for themselves and their posterities do jointly and severally hereby enter into a firm and perpetual league of friendship and amity for offence and defence, mutual advice and succour upon all occasions both for preserving and propagating the truth and liberties of the Gospel and for their own mutual safety and welfare."

Each colony chose two commissioners, all being in church fellowship, who were granted full power from their several general courts in all affairs of war. The board was known officially as "The Commissioners of the United Colonies of New England." One of their number was chosen president annually. They were to meet once a year, the date of the meeting being the first Thursday in September, but extraordinary meetings could be held if necessary.

The general affairs of the colony now having been brought into a healthy state, the people began to interest themselves more in educational matters, having already established the college and a few schools. The times were apparently ripe for taking up the work of converting the heathen, and the man for the hour was the Rev. John Eliot, who had long been preparing himself for this opportunity.

In *The Life of the Renowned John Eliot*, published in Boston in 1691, Rev. Cotton Mather says: "I cannot find that any besides the Holy Spirit of God first moved him to the blessed Work of Evangelizing these perishing Indians; 't was that Holy Spirit which laid before his mind the *Idaea* of that which is now on the Seal of the Massachusetts Colony; *A poor Indian having a Label* going from his mouth with COME OVER AND HELP US. It was the spirit of our Lord Jesus Christ which enkindled in him a *Pitty* for the dark, dying, damning souls of



these Natives, *whom the god of this world had blinded*, through all the By past Ages."

In addition to the motives ascribed by Mather there were, however, other reasons which induced Eliot to engage in this holy work. John Eliot was born either at Widford, Hertfordshire, where he was baptized August 5, 1604, or at Nazing, Essex, where his father, a yeoman, lived. He was entered as a pensioner at Jesus College, Cambridge, March 20, 1619, received his degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1622, and later probably took orders in the Church of England. During his college course he is said to have been particularly engaged in the study of philology, and to have been an acute grammarian. After graduation he engaged in teaching, and accepted a position as usher in a school at Little Baddow, near Chelmsford, of which the renowned Rev. Thomas Hooker was the principal, who exercised such an influence over Eliot that he resolved to join the nonconformists and proceed to America, where he could preach without restraint. Arriving in Boston in November, 1631, he officiated as pastor of the First Church during the absence of Rev. John Wilson in England, but on November 5, 1632, he was chosen teacher of the church in Roxbury and continued in that office until his death in May, 1690.

Of the one hundred university men who came to the new colony between 1630 and 1647, two-thirds were graduates of Cambridge, and one-half settled in the immediate vicinity of Boston. With many of these Eliot must have been personally acquainted, and their puritanical principles must have been familiar to him.

Rev. John Eliot must have known the Rev. John White, of Dorchester, England, the leading promoter of the New England Colony, and been familiar with his ideas on colonization. *The Planters' Plea*, presumably written by White, contains several "Objections to the 'Plea'" and the "Answers" to them. The second "Objection" reads: "But the pretended end of winning

*The Triumphs of the Reformed Religion,  
in AMERICA.*

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The LIFE of the Renowned  
**JOHN ELIOT;**  
A Person justly Famous in the  
CHURCH of GOD,

Not only as an Eminent CHRISTIAN,  
and an Excellent MINISTER, among the  
ENGLISH,

But also,  
As a Memorable EVANGELIST among the  
INDIANS, of NEW-ENGLAND;  
With some Account concerning the late and  
strange Success of the Gospel, in those parts  
of the World, which for many Ages have  
lain Buried in PAGAN IGNORANCE.

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Written by  
**COTTON MATHER.**

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*Blessed is that Servant, whom his Lord, when He  
cometh, shall find SO Doing.*

---

*Boston, Printed by Benjamin Harris, and John  
Allen, for Joseph Brunning at the corner of  
the Prison-Lane. 1691.*



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the Heathen to the knowledge of God and embracing the faith of Christ, is a mere fantasy, and a work not only of uncertain but unlikely success as appears by our fruitless endeavors that way, both in Virginia and New England, where New-Plymouth men inhabiting now these ten years, are not able to give account of any one man converted to Christianity." The "Answer" reads: "And no marvel, unless God should work by miracle; neither can it be expected that work should take effect until we may be more perfectly acquainted with their language, and they with ours. Indeed it is true both the Natives and English understand so much of one another's language, as may enable them to trade one with another, and fit them for conference about things that are subject to outward sense; and so they understand our use in keeping the Sabbath day, observe our reverence in the worship of God, are somewhat acquainted with the moral precepts; know that adultery, theft, murder, and lying are forbidden, which nature teacheth, because these things are outward, and may be understood almost by sense; but how shall a man express unto them things merely spiritual, which have no affinity with sense unless we were thoroughly acquainted with their language and they with ours? Neither can we in theirs, or they in our tongue utter any continued speech, because we nor they understand the moods, tenses, cases, numbers, prepositions, adverbs, which make coherence in words, and express a perfect sense. Besides, it hath been intimated that we hardly have found a brutish people won before they had been taught civility. So we must endeavour and expect to work that in them first and religion afterwards."

The longer we study the life of Eliot and examine the methods employed by him in his efforts to improve the welfare of the Indians, the more irresistible is the conclusion that *The Planter's Plea* must have been very familiar to him. Mr. White had been engaged in efforts to colonize New England

and to Christianize the Indians ever since Captain John Smith had visited these shores. This book contains the result of those efforts, and in this "Objection" and "Answer" is shown how little progress had been made during these fifteen or more years in winning the heathen to the knowledge of God, and what were causes of the failure, and what it was necessary to do to insure success. It must have been studied very earnestly by Eliot, and in this "Objection" and "Answer" may be found the motive which induced him to resolve to go to America, there learn the Indian language, and then endeavor to convert the heathen to Christianity. The ideas expressed in the "Objection" and "Answer" must have made a deep impression on his mind; to learn the language would be in harmony with his philological turn of mind, and to Christianize the Indians would be working in a holy cause. If the attempt should be made to describe the methods employed by Eliot, it would be difficult to express them more comprehensively or more appropriately than in Rev. John White's "Objection" and "Answer," written and printed before Eliot left England.

After Eliot had arrived in New England and had become acquainted with the actual condition of affairs, he began to realize the immensity of the task he had undertaken. The unsettled state of the country, the troubles with the Indians which resulted in the Pequot War, and the Antinomian Controversy, which distracted the community even more than the Indian War, caused him to defer his efforts to Christianize the Indians to more favorable times. He also saw how utterly useless these efforts would be unless he was able to converse with them in their own language. He soon found out that to learn the Indian language would require an intimate knowledge of the construction of the English and Indian tongues. While waiting, his mind was attuned to the work by being engaged during 1637 and 1638 with Rev. Richard Mather, of Dorchester, and

Rev. Thomas Welde, of Roxbury, in preparing a new version of the Psalms in metre, which was printed at the Cambridge press in 1640. This required him to study very closely the construction of the English language, and to note how the shades of meaning were expressed by slight variations of phrases. The necessity of preserving in English, as nearly as possible, the ideas expressed in the Greek and Hebrew texts was an excellent preparation for the greater task to follow.

In his attempts to acquire the Indian language Eliot had no books to aid him, and few interpreters. From a language which dealt only with material objects he had to evolve expressions for the conveying of ideas about the immaterial and the spiritual. He conversed as much as possible with the Indians about him, but the ideas of these Indians were limited to the affairs of every-day life, and but few words could be learned from them. The Indians had no written language, and it would be possible for Eliot to learn the construction and vocabulary of their language only by constant intercourse with some Indian of more than ordinary intelligence who was conversant with the English language. Such a person was not found until after the Pequot War. Among the prisoners of that war was an Indian who possessed the accomplishments which Eliot was seeking. Having been brought to Roxbury, he was placed as a servant in one of the English families, and was frequently employed as an interpreter by the officers of the government in their interviews with the Indian sachems. In a letter dated February 12, 1649, Eliot says of him :

“ There is an Indian living with Mr. Richard Calicott of Dorchester, who was taken in the Pequot wars though belonging to Long Island ; this Indian is ingenious, can read ; and I taught him to write which he quickly learnt, though I know not what use he now maketh of it ; *he was the first that I made use of to teach me words and to be my interpreter.* Now of late the Lord hath

stirred up his heart to join unto the Church at Dorchester, and this day I am going to the Elders meeting to examination and trial of this young man for his admission into the church."

It does not appear from the records of the church that he was successful in gaining admission.

Richard Callicott was a prominent citizen of Dorchester, and held, at various times, the offices of Selectmen and Representative to the General Court. He was a fur trader, and in 1637 was commissary of the expedition against the Pequots. His business brought him into close relations with the Indians, with whom he had great influence, and in the distribution of the prisoners of the Pequot War this young Indian was allotted to him. In 1645 this Indian was present in Boston with Callicott, as interpreter at the making of the treaty between the Commissioners of the United Colonies and the Sagamores of the Narragansetts. His name is supposed to be Cockenoe, a member of one of the tribes of the eastern part of Long Island, who were subjects of, and paid tribute to, the Pequots. It is probably due to the fact that he was not a Pequot, and perhaps was fighting under compulsion that he was given to Callicott as a servant, rather than sold in the West Indies.

At the end of his *Indian Grammar*, printed at Cambridge in 1666, Eliot writes: "I have now finished what I shall do at present; and in a word or two to satisfy the prudent enquirer how I found out these new ways of grammar, which no other learned language (as far as I know) useth; I thus inform him. God first put into my heart a compassion over their poor souls, and a desire to teach them to know Christ, and to bring them into his kingdom. Then presently I found out (by God's wise providence) a pregnant witted young man who had been a servant in an English house, who pretty well understood our language, better than he could speak it, and well understood his own language, and hath a clear pronunciation; him I made my

interpreter. By his help I translated the Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, and many texts of Scripture: also I compiled both exhortations and prayers by his help, I diligently marked the difference of their grammar from ours; when I found the way of them, I would pursue a word, a noun, a verb, through all the variations I could think of. We must not sit still and look for miracles; up and be doing, and the Lord will be with thee. Prayer and pains, through faith in Christ Jesus will do anything."

For the purpose of learning the Indian language this young Indian was probably loaned by Callicott to Eliot, who received him into his family, and by daily intercourse with him, very materially assisted by his clear pronunciation, at length learned the rudiments and the vocabulary of the language, by which he was enabled to converse with and preach to the Indians, and eventually to construct a written Indian language, to compose an Indian grammar, and to translate into the Indian language a catechism, a primer, several theological treatises, and the Bible. It took many years to accomplish this, and the employment of other interpreters than Cockenoe. The Catechism was first printed in 1654, but the printing of the Bible was not completed until 1663. It was not until 1646 that, by the aid of Cockenoe, Eliot considered that he had so mastered the Indian language as to be able to preach understandingly to the Indians in their native tongue. The task had been a hard one, and probably it was while in the midst of his difficulties that he (?) wrote in *New England's First Fruits* almost the only passage in the book which relates to the Indians. In recounting the blessings of the Lord he says: "All which blessings named we look upon as an earnest-penny of more to come. If we seek his face and serve his Providence, we have no cause to doubt that he for his part will fail to make reasonable supplies unto us . . . by stirring up some to shew mercy to the Indians, in affording maintenance to some of our



godly active young scholars, there to make it their work to study their language, converse with them, and carry light amongst them, that so the gospel might be spread into those dark parts of the world." Surely this is an echo of the ideas advanced in *The Planter's Plea* printed thirteen years previously.

On March 8, 1643-4, Cutshamache, Nashowanon, Wosamegon, Maskanomett, and Squa Sachim voluntarily placed themselves, their subjects, lands and estates, under the government and jurisdiction of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, and on November 13, 1644, the General Court ordered "that the County Courts in this jurisdiction shall take care that the Indians residing in the several shires shall be civilized, and they shall have power to take order from time to time to have them instructed in the knowledge and worship of God." These were the sachems of the tribes in the immediate vicinity of the Massachusetts Bay, and in placing themselves under the protection of the Massachusetts Bay Colony they gave to Eliot the opportunity for which he had long waited of presenting to them the glorious Gospel of Jesus Christ. Nashawanon was the sachem of Concord, whose daughter had married Waban, an Indian trader of Nonantum. Waban was so well disposed toward the English that he had already sent his son to be educated by them. Cutshamache was the sachem of Dorchester, who was also friendly disposed to the English. With both of these Indians, each of whom lived within five miles of his house, Eliot had frequently conversed on topics relating to civilized life, and had finally awakened in them and their followers a desire to adopt the English fashions, and to live after their manner. He promised to go to their wigwams and teach them, their wives, and their children.

Accordingly, in September, 1646, he went to the wigwam of Cutshamache at Dorchester Mills, where he preached to an assembly of Indians in their own language. When, after the sermon, he requested them to ask questions, they manifested no

interest in the gospel, but inquired about thunder and lightning, the ebbing and flowing of the tide, and the wind. His success was so unsatisfactory that Eliot did not regard this meeting as hardly worthy of notice. In a letter to Rev. Thomas Shepard dated September 24, 1647, he writes: "I first began with the Indians of Nonantum, as you know; those of Dorchester Mill not regarding any such thing."<sup>1</sup>

On Monday, October 28, 1646, accompanied probably by Rev. John Wilson of Boston, Rev. Thomas Shepard of Cambridge, Rev. John Allin of Dedham, and an Indian interpreter, Eliot proceeded to the place afterwards called Nonantum, and being met by five or six of the chief men among the Indians, was escorted to the wigwam of Waban, where were found many more Indians, men, women, and children, gathered from all quarters round about, according to appointment, to meet and learn of him. These Indians had been invited by Waban, the chief minister of justice among them, who had inspired in Eliot more hopes of success in the cause of the Gospel than any other of the Indians. After all had assembled Rev. John Wilson, it is thought, opened the meeting with prayer in English. Then Mr. Eliot preached in the Indian language a sermon one hour and a quarter in length. Another hour and a half was taken up with questions and answers concerning what they had heard, and then the meeting was closed with prayer in English. But before the questions were asked it was desired to know if they had understood what had already been spoken, and in reply to the query if all in the wigwam had understood or only a few, they said "with multitude of voices, that they all of them did understand all that which was then spoken to them." In his answers to the questions propounded by the Indians Eliot borrowed "now and then some small help from the interpreter whom we had brought with us and who could oftentimes ex-

<sup>1</sup> *Clear Sun-shine of the Gospel.*

press our minds more distinctly than any of us could: but this we perceived that a few words from the preacher were more regarded than many from the Indian interpreter." The first question by the Indians was, "How may we come to know Jesus Christ?" and all the others were of a religious cast, which so pleased Eliot and were so different from the questions asked at the meeting six weeks previous that Eliot considers this meeting as the real beginning of his missionary work. Within the following six weeks three other meetings were held at the same place, full accounts of which are given in *The Day-Breaking, if not the Sun-Rising of the Gospell with the Indians in New England*, presumed to have been written by the Rev. John Wilson, and printed in London in 1647.

Encouraged by his success at Nonantum, Eliot went again to the Dorchester Indians, and found them now ready and anxious to learn of him. They had seen and heard of his work at Nonantum, and wished to share in it. In a letter to Rev. Thomas Shepard, Eliot writes, "But the better sort of them perceiving how acceptable this was to the English, both to Magistrates, and all good people, it pleased God to step in and bow their hearts to desire to be taught to know God, and pray unto him likewise, and had I not gone unto them also, and taught them when I did, they had prevented me, and desired me so to do, as I afterward heard."<sup>1</sup> Meetings were held afterwards once a week, alternately at Nonantum and Dorchester Mills.

Although Eliot does not mention the name of his interpreter, it is more than probable that it was Cockenoe. How long he lived with Eliot and at what time he removed from Roxbury does not appear. In 1645 he was acting as an interpreter, together with Callicott, in Boston. In a letter written in 1649 Eliot says that Cockenoe is living with Callicott in Dorchester,

<sup>1</sup> *Clear Sun-shine of the Gospel.*

but on October 12, 1650, he writes, "I have one already who can write, so that I can read his writing well, and he (with some pains and teaching) can read mine." This undoubtedly was Job Nesutan, an Indian whom Eliot was instructing, and who was afterwards of great assistance to Eliot in his several translations. On February 25, 1652, Cockenoe was employed as an interpreter between the whites and the Indians, when the Norwalk plantation was purchased from the Indians, his name appearing in two places on the Indian deed as Cockenoe-de-Long Island. He is therefore supposed to have left Dorchester about 1649. In 1667 he was living at Shinnecock, having married the squa-sachem of the Shinnecock tribe. He appears to have been a prominent man among the Indians, and his services were very often required in the transfers of land between the Indians and the whites. He was alive as late as August 3, 1687, uniting on that day with the members of his tribe in the Montauk conveyance to the inhabitants of East Hampton "for all our tract of land at Montauk."<sup>1</sup>

Bearing in mind that civilization and Christianity were dependent upon each other, Eliot bent his energies toward civilizing the Indians by inducing them to give up their nomadic life, gather in villages, and support themselves by their own industries, as the English did. At the first meeting at Nonantum the Indians had expressed a desire to have land upon which to build a town, and on petition of Eliot on November 4, 1646, the General Court appointed "Edward Goffe, the surveyor general, John Johnson, and William Parks, a committee to treat with Mr. Sparhawk, or any others whom they think fit, about such parcels of land which they with Mr. Shepard, Mr. Allen and Mr. Eliot, shall conceive meet to purchase for the encouragement of the Indians to live in an orderly way among us." They were granted the lands where their wigwams were,

<sup>1</sup> See *Cockenoe-de-Long Island*, by W. W. Tooker.

and where the meetings had been held, and the place was called Nonantum, which means in English "we rejoice." Writing to Rev. Mr. Shepard September 24, 1647, Eliot says: "You know likewise that we exhorted them to fence their ground with ditches, stone walls, stone walls upon the banks, and promised to help them with shovels, spades, mattocks, crows of iron; and they are very desirous to follow that counsel, and call upon me to help them with tools faster than I can get them, though I have now bought a pretty store, and they (I hope) are at work. The women are desirous to learn to spin, and I have procured wheels for sundry of them, and they can spin pretty well. They begin to grow industrious and find something to sell at market all the year long."

Having observed that by the English those guilty of misdemeanors were punished by the Court, the Indians desired to have a Court set up among them. Eliot petitioned the General Court, which, on May 26, 1647, appointed a Court, and ordered that the fines should go toward building meeting-houses, educating the children, or other public uses beneficial to the Indians. Also that £10 should be given to Mr. Eliot as a gratuity, in respect of his great pains and charge in instructing the Indians in the knowledge of God, and that £20 per annum given by Lady Armin for that purpose be called for and applied accordingly. Schools were also asked for. As early as September, 1647, measures were taken looking toward the establishment of them both at Nonantum and Dorchester Mills. Schools were dear to Eliot's heart. He was a school-master before he was a minister, and his interest in the establishing of schools never abated. He was as earnestly interested in schools for the English as for the Indians, and always advocated them in every town in which he happened to be. Through the Indian schools he was in hopes to spread the gospel by teaching both the young and the old to read and

write. When in 1644 the five Massachusetts sachems put themselves and their followers under the jurisdiction of the English, and were asked if they would "suffer their children to learn to read God's word, that they may learn to know God aright and worship him in his own way," they replied, "As opportunity will serve, and English live among them, they desire so to do."

The civilizing of the Indians, however, progressed faster than Eliot had anticipated, and although the other clergymen helped him in his preaching and teaching, and the laymen gave financial support, yet the prospects were that the demands would be more than he could satisfy and that he would be obliged to seek outside aid. At this time Edward Winslow was about starting for England, as agent for the Massachusetts and Plymouth colonies. An account of the first four meetings, and a statement of the progress of affairs up to December 9, 1646, was prepared, presumably by the Rev. John Wilson, in the form of a letter to Edward Winslow, which was to be sent to the friends of the enterprise in England. Near the end of the letter the writer says :

"I did think never to have opened my mouth to any, to desire those in England to further any good work here, but now I see so many things inviting to speak in this business, that it were well if you did lay before those that are prudent and able these considerations.

"1. That it is pretty heavy and chargeable to educate and train up those children which are already offered us, in schooling, clothing, diet and attendance, which they must have.

"2. That in all probability many Indians in other places, especially under our jurisdiction, will be provoked by this example in these, both to desire preaching, and also to send their children to us, when they see that some of their fellows fare so well among the English, and the civil authority so much

favoring and countenancing of these, and if many more come in, it will be more heavy to such as only are fit to keep them, and yet have their hands and knees enfeebled so many ways besides.

“3. That if any shall do anything to encourage this work that it may be given to the College for such an end and use, that so from the College may arise the yearly revenue for their yearly maintenance. I would not have it placed in any particular man’s hand for fear of cousinage or misplacing or careless keeping and improving; but at the College it is under many hands and eyes the chief and best of the Country who have been and will be exactly careful of the right and comely disposing of such things, and therefore, if anything be given, let it be put in such hands as may immediately direct it to the President of the College, who you know will soon acquaint the rest with it; and for this if any in England have thus given anything for this end, I would have them speak to those who have received it to send it this way, which if it be withheld I think ’t is no less than sacrilege: but if God moves no hearts to such a work, I doubt not then but that more weak means shall have the honor of it in the day of Christ.”

When Winslow sailed, about the middle of December, 1646, he carried this letter with him, which, after his arrival in England, he presented to several of the prominent ministers in and around London, who caused it to be printed early in 1647, under the title, *The Day-Breaking if not the Sun-Rising of the Gospell with the Indians of New England.*

In 1647 Rev. Thomas Shepard sent to Mr. Winslow a letter containing a full account of the progress of the good work to the end of September, 1647, in which he enclosed a letter in which Rev. Mr. Eliot “set down under his own hand what he hath observed lately among them: which I do therefore herein send unto you in his own handwriting as he sent it to

me." These letters, accompanied by a letter signed by twelve prominent clergymen of London and vicinity, were presented to Parliament, with the expectation that some way would be found to help those who were endeavoring to spread the gospel among the Indians of New England. In 1648 they were printed in London, preceded by the letter to Parliament, and also by another letter, dedicated "to the godly and well affected of this kingdom of England," and widely distributed. The title of the book reads, *The Clear Sun-shine of the Gospel breaking forth upon the Indians in New England*, etc.

The appeal to Parliament resulted in the passage of an order March 17, 1647, referring the matter to the Committee of Foreign Relations to prepare and bring in an ordinance "for the encouragement and advancement of learning and piety in New England." The committee made a report, but no action was taken by Parliament; and in 1649 Mr. Winslow sent to the Parliament some later letters which he had received from Mr. Eliot and Mr. Mayhew, to which he added an introduction in which he ventured to remind the members of their neglect, and asked permission to call their attention to the subject. These letters were published in 1649, under the title, *The Glorious Progress of the Gospel amongst the Indians in New England*.

The appeal of Mr. Winslow was successful, and on July 27, 1649, the Parliament passed an ordinance "for the advancement of civilization and christianity among the Indians of New England." It created "A Corporation for the Promoting and Propagating the Gospel of Jesus Christ in New England," which was to consist of sixteen persons in England, who should have perpetual succession and be styled "The President and Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England," with power to acquire real and personal estate not exceeding the annual value of £2000.

They were authorized to pay money to "The Commissioners



of the United Colonies of New England," or to such as these may appoint, to be used "in such manner as shall best and principally conduce to the preaching and propagating of the Gospel of Jesus Christ among the Natives, and also for maintaining of schools, and nurseries of learning, and for the better education of the children of the Natives." William Steele was chosen president, and held the office until the Restoration in 1661, when the company was incorporated anew by Charles II as a "Company for the Propagation of the Gospel among the Heathen Natives of New England, and the Parts adjacent in America," of which the distinguished Robert Boyle was the first Governor.

Thus the efforts of Mr. Eliot to civilize and Christianize the Indians of New England had resulted in the formation in Old England of a strong corporation, which not only would assist in that particular work, but would also aid in the education of the Indian children, and, as we shall presently see, would furnish the funds for enlarging the printing office and for printing books in the Indian language.

The gathering together of the praying Indians, as those Indians were called who were following the instructions of Eliot, in small communities had not proved as satisfactory as Eliot had wished, and in 1648 he began to agitate the question of finding a place where all the praying Indians could remove, and where they could live upon the products of their labor, and where they could have a church. The Indians were favorably disposed toward this proposition and soon became anxious to remove, but lack of funds prevented. Eliot was greatly encouraged when he heard in 1647 that Parliament had taken up the question of assisting him, and intended to do something, but was correspondingly despondent at the long delay. In a letter to Edward Winslow dated November 12, 1648, Eliot writes, that in order to insure success in the progress of the gospel among

the Indians "a place must be found somewhat remote from the English, where they must have the word constantly taught, and government constantly exercised, means of good subsistence provided, encouragements for the industrious, means of instructing them in letters, trades and labors, as building, fishing, flax and hemp dressing, planting orchards," etc. On June 8, 1649, Eliot again writes Winslow: "Let me I beseech you trouble you a little farther with some considerations about this great Indian work which lieth upon me, as my continual care, prayer, desire and endeavor to carry on, namely for their schooling and education of youth in learning, which is a principal means for promoting of it for future times; if the Lord bring us to live in a town and society, we must have special care to have schools for the instruction of the youth in reading, that they may be able to read the scriptures at least. And therefore there may be some annual revenue for the maintaining of such schoolmasters and dames; besides I do very much desire to translate some parts of the scriptures into their language, and to print some primer in their language wherein to initiate and teach them to read, which some of the men do much also desire, and printing such a thing will be troublesome and chargeable, and I having yet but little skill in their language (having little leisure to attend to it by reason of my continual attendance on my ministry in our own church) I must have some Indians, and it may be other help continually about me to try and examine translations, which I look at as a sacred and holy work, and to be regarded with much fear, care, and reverence; and all this is chargeable; therefore I look at that as a special matter on which cost is to be bestowed, if the Lord provide means, for I have not means of my own for it. I have a family of many children to educate, and therefore I cannot give over my ministry in our church whereby my family is sustained to attend the Indians to whom I give, and of whom I receive nothing, nor have they

anything to give: so that want of money is the only thing in view that doth retard a more full prosecution of this work unto which the Lord doth ripen them apace.

“Moreover, there be sundry prompt, pregnant witted youths, not viciously inclined, but well disposed, which I desire may be wholly requestered to learning and put to school for that purpose, had we means; and I suppose ten pounds per annum to be paid in England, will maintain one Indian youth at school, and half a score such gifts or annuities would by the blessing of God greatly further this work so far as concerns that particular.”<sup>1</sup>

With the exception of the teaching which Eliot gave them once in two weeks, the Indian children had to depend largely upon their parents, who repeated to them what they themselves learned from Eliot in his bi-weekly visits. On November 13, 1649, Eliot writes to Winslow: “I find it absolutely necessary to carry on civility with religion: and that maketh me to have many thoughts that the way to do it to the purpose, is to live among them in a place distant from the English, for many reasons; and bring them to co-habitation, government, arts and trades: but this is too costly an enterprise for New England, that hath expended itself so far in laying the foundation of a commonwealth in this wilderness. For their schooling, a gentleman in London (whose name I could never learn) did give ten pounds toward it the last year which I thus disposed of; five pounds I gave to a grave woman in Cambridge, who taught the Indian children last year, and God so blessed her labors that they came on very prettily. The other five pounds I gave to the schoolmaster of Dorchester and thither the children of those Indians that lived thereabout went, with a like success, if not better, because the children were bigger and more capable. I do not know whether the gentleman will continue his gifts.

<sup>1</sup> *The Light appearing more and more towards the perfect Day*, p. 17.

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I fear for want of means both these schools will fall ; and the children like to lose all that they have gotten the first year, which is a work had need be closely followed : because they are to learn our language as well as to read : only I take constant course of catechizing them every lecture-day, and I thank the Lord, they are (many of them) very ready in their answers in the principles of religion. And in that exercise I endeavor also to use them to good manners.”

In a letter dated April 18, 1650, Eliot writes : “ The work of the Lord through his grace doth still go on as formerly, and they are still full of questions, and mostly they now be, to know the meaning of such scriptures as I have translated and read, and in a poor measure expounded to them. They long for to proceed in that work which I have in former letters mentioned ; namely to cohabit in a town, to be under the government of the Lord and to have a church and the ordinances of Christ among them. . . . The reason why there is still a delay of laying the foundation of the work is this, because we must see first whether any supply is likely to be had from England (for our sins and bad times may disappoint our greatest hopes) and if any, what measure, that we may by that be guided what foundation and beginning to make ; their condition and the necessary frame of this work requireth a liberal stock to begin withal and liberal supply to carry it on ; and therefore to begin the work before the Lord hath discovered his providing providence this way, by the rule of prudence may not be. Nor can I manifest unto the church that God doth call me to that work, until I may lay before them (at least some) present means to begin the work, and some probable hopes of supply ; and until that be done the church hath no rule to give me up to that work ; nor I a rule to require it ; only I do (through the Lord’s help) continually go on to teach them, as for these three years and a half I have done, instructing them and preparing them as well as I can

against such time as the Lord, who hath promised to guide us by his eye and voice, shall manifestly call us to go forward with that work which we wait to see accomplished."

In the spring of 1650 the Indians were very desirous of beginning the new town, but Eliot dissuaded them because the ships that came over brought no tools or means from England to prosecute the work. Very much discouraged he "advised with divers of the elders at the Boston lecture, and Mr. Cotton's answer was *my heart sayeth go on and look to the Lord only for help*, the rest also concurring." Just at this time he received some letters of encouragement and some funds from private hands by a ship from England. He concluded therefore to wait no longer, but to go on with the undertaking. Having selected the site, which was on the banks of the Charles River, about eighteen miles from Boston, in the autumn he called together the Indians to break and prepare the ground against the spring. The frame for a house was gotten out and carried to the new town, and as the river divided the planting grounds from the dwelling-place, a foot bridge eighty feet long and nine feet high in the middle was built against the daily use the next spring.

On October 21, 1650, Eliot writes: "If the Lord please to prosper our poor beginnings, my purpose is (as far as the Lord shall enable me to give attendance unto the work) to have school exercises for all the men by daily instructing of them to read and write, etc. Yea, the Lord affords us fit instruments, my desire is, that all the women may be taught to read; I know the matter will be difficult every way, for English people can only teach them to read English; and for their own language we have no book; my desire therefore is to teach them all to write and read written hand, and thereby with painstaking, they may have some of the scriptures in their own language. I have one already who can write, so that I can read his writing well, and he (with more pains and teaching) can read mine. I hope

the Lord will both enlarge his understanding and others also to do as he doth ; and if once I had some of themselves able to spell aught, write, and read, it might further the work exceedingly, and will be the speediest way."

In the spring of 1651 the praying Indians left Nonantum and, proceeding up the river, laid the foundations of the new town on the site selected, which they called Natick, "a place of hills." The town occupied both sides of the river, which was crossed by a bridge and was laid out in streets. Houselots were assigned, on which houses in the English style were built. A circular fort also was built, and a large house, the lower part of which was used as a meeting-house on the Sabbath and as a schoolroom on other days. In the upper part was a large hall and a chamber for the personal use of Mr. Eliot when he visited the town.

Mr. Eliot preached to the Indians once in two weeks, but as he was unable to preach to them on the Sabbath, he selected two of the most promising of them, read to them such portions of the Scriptures as he wished to be used, and also gave to them a short lecture, all of which they committed to memory and repeated on the Sabbath. The school was taught by Job Nesutan, the Indian who had been taught to read, write, and spell the English language. In a letter dated April 28, 1651, Eliot says of him: "It hath pleased God this winter much to enlarge the ability of him whose help I use in translating the Scriptures which I account a great furtherance of that which I most desire, namely, to communicate unto them as much of the Scriptures in their own language as I am able. Besides it hath pleased God to stir up the hearts of many of them this winter to learn to read and write wherein they do very much profit with a very little help, especially some of them, for they are very ingenious. And whereas I had thought that we must have an Englishman to be their schoolmaster, I now hope that the Lord will raise up

some of themselves, and enable them unto that work, with my care, to teach them well in the reason of the sounds of letters and spelling. I trust in the Lord that we shall have sundry of them able to read and write, who shall write every man for himself so much of the Bible as the Lord shall please to enable me to translate.”

In a letter written six months later Eliot writes about the school as follows : “ I know not whether I have yet mentioned our school which through the Lord’s mercy we have begun, though we cannot yet be constant in it, we have two men in some measure able to teach the youth with my guidance and inspection. And thus we order the school. The master daily prayeth among his scholars and instructeth them in Catechism, for which I have compiled a short catechism, and wrote it in the master’s book, which we can read and teach them ; and also all the copies he setteth his scholars when he teacheth them to write are the questions and answers of the catechism, that so the children may be the more prompt and ready therein : we aspire to no higher learning yet, but to spell, read and write, that so they may be able to write for themselves such Scriptures as I have already, or hereafter may, (by the blessing of God) translate for them ; for I have no hope to see the Bible translated, much less printed in my days. Therefore my chief care is to communicate as much of the Scriptures as I can by writing ; and further, my scope so to train both men and youths, that when they may be in some measure instructed themselves, they may be sent forth to other parts of the country, to train up, and instruct others, even as they themselves have been trained up and instructed. This consideration doth make me very careful to put on the school, and attend it with what diligence I can, although I cannot yet do in it, what I desire. There be several providences of God appearing to work, which make me think that the most effectual and general way of spreading the Gospel, will

be by themselves, when so instructed as I have above mentioned : as for my preaching, though such whose hearts God hath bowed to attend, can pick up some knowledge by my broken expressions, yet I see that it is not so taking and effectual to strangers as their own expressions be, who naturally speak unto them in their own tongue. To the end therefore that they may be the better able to teach others, I do train them up, and exercise them therein : when I am among them on the Lord's days, appointing two each sabbath to exercise, and when they have done, then I proceed, and assuredly I find a good measure of ability in them, not only in prayer (wherein they exceed my expectation) but in memory to rehearse such Scriptures as I have read unto them and expounded : to expound them also as they have heard me do, and apply them. And now also the schoolmaster taking the care of catechising the children, I leaving that to him do catechise the men, examining and trying their knowledge, which yet I am wary in doing, least I should damp and discourage the weak. These things I attend with the more attention because it seemeth to me God will employ these first instructed to instruct others, of which I have had sundry experiences."

Farther on in the same letter he writes: " Therefore upon the sixth day of the sixth month of this present year, (their palisade fort being finished) they had a great meeting, and many came together from diverse parts . . . where with prayer to God I read and expounded to them the 18th of Exodus (which I had done several times before) and finally they did solemnly choose two rulers among themselves. They first chose a ruler of an hundred, then they chose two rulers of fifties, then they chose ten or tithing men (so I call them in English). And lastly, for that day's work every man chose who should be his ruler of ten, the rulers standing in order, and every man going to the man he chose, and so lived a civil political life, and the Lord was pleased to minister no small comfort unto my spirit when I saw



it. After this work was ended they did enter into covenant with God and each other, to be the Lord's people, and to be governed by the word of the Lord in all things.

“This act of forming themselves into the government of God, and entering into this government, is the first public record among the Indians, and for aught I know the first that ever was among them, and now our next work is to prepare them for the Church-estate, to which I do instruct them that the visible church of Christ is builded upon a lively confession of Christ, and covenanting to walk in all the administration of the public worship of God, under the government and discipline of Jesus Christ.”

In a letter dated October 27, 1651, Rev. John Wilson gives a minute account of a lecture by Mr. Eliot at Natick, about a fortnight previous, at which were present also Governor Endicot, Secretary Rawson, and about thirty of the colonists. One of the Indians whom Eliot had trained to instruct and exhort the other Indians on the Sabbath when he could not come himself, began the exercises. Rev. Mr. Wilson describes the scene as follows:<sup>1</sup>

“This man being of middle age and clad all in English apparel (as most if not all others of them are) sitting in the midst, on a stool, under the shelter, did begin with prayer very solemnly, standing up for some half quarter of an hour, then sitting down spake unto them of the two parables, concerning the field wherein the treasure hid, and the wise merchant selling all for the pearl. . . . He discoursed to them some three quarters of an hour at the least, with great devotion, gravity, decency, readiness and affection, and gestures very becoming. . . . Then he ended with prayer as he began. Then Mr. Eliot prayed and preached in the Indian language for some hour more about coming to Christ and bearing his yoke. This text was translated by

<sup>1</sup> *Strength out of Weakness*, published by Mr. Henry Whitfield. London, 1652.

him from the Scriptures into English, speaking with much authority, and after his latter prayer the Indian schoolmaster read out of his book one of the Psalms in metre, line by line, translated by Mr. Eliot into Indian, all the men and women singing the same together in one of our ordinary English tunes melodiously." After some questions from the Indians which were answered by Mr. Eliot, Mr. Wilson gave an exhortation and the Governor addressed them, both of which speeches were translated to the Indians by Mr. Eliot.

Although delayed for several years, and disappointed in receiving the expected aid from the London Corporation, Eliot had at last succeeded in carrying out his long cherished plan of planting a town for his praying Indians at Natick, and of setting up a church and school. It had been accomplished almost wholly by his own efforts, with a little assistance from a few friends. After the town had been established, in the summer of 1651 the Corporation sent over a few tools and some clothing, but the vessel containing them was wrecked and the goods badly damaged. Before September, 1656, however, the Corporation had sent over money and goods to the amount of £1722 4s. 8d., and Mr. Eliot's honorarium, which at first was £20, had been raised to £50.

We have seen that Eliot had compiled a catechism which he had translated into the Indian language, and then written in a book which his Indian schoolmaster used in teaching the Indian children to read and write. Also that he had translated the Psalms and written them in a book in metre, which was used by the schoolmaster in the church service. As the school increased in numbers and the scholars became more proficient, at the meeting of the Commissioners of the United Colonies in September, 1653, it was agreed to print the catechism prepared by Mr. Eliot by disbursing the charge of paper and printing, out of the Corporation stock. The order reads: "It is left to the

two commissioners for the Massachusetts to give order for the printing of five hundred or a thousand Catechisms in the Indian language and to allow paper and the charge of printing." As at the meeting of the Commissioners September 25, 1654, it is stated that "one catechism is already printed and Mr. Pierson is preparing another," it is probable that Eliot's Catechism was printed either in the latter part of 1653 or early in 1654. No copy is known to be extant. Besides the *Psalms*, Eliot had translated the *Book of Genesis* and the *Gospel of Matthew*, but when these books were printed is not known. Eliot wrote, August 16, 1655, "*Genesis* is printed, and we are upon *Matthew*."<sup>1</sup> In a letter to the Corporation dated December 28, 1658, Eliot writes, "They have none of the Scriptures printed in their own language, save *Genesis* and *Matthew* and a few *Psalms in Meeter*." The Treasurer's account, presented September, 1659, includes a payment "To Mr. Green in part for printing the *Psalmes*." *Genesis* and *Matthew*, therefore, are presumed to have been printed in 1655, and the *Psalms* in 1658. These books were all printed at the College Press in Cambridge, by Samuel Green, which as late as 1655 was domiciled in the president's house. No copy of either is extant.

We have shown that as early as 1646 Rev. John Wilson had expressed an opinion that Harvard College would be expected to lend a hand in educating the Indians, and in 1649, in a letter to Edward Winslow, Eliot had expressed a desire that "certain pregnant witted youths might be requestered to learning and put to school," evidently having a college education in mind. On August 27, 1651, the President and Fellows of Harvard College wrote a letter to the Commissioners stating that the college buildings sadly needed repairs, and asking if some help could not be had from the funds collected by the Corporation for propagating the Gospel among the Indians. The Com-

<sup>1</sup> Thorowgood's *Jewes in America*.

missioners thought they had no authority to spend any of the funds in that way, but promised to write to Winslow "to inquire the mind of the Corporation therein ourselves conceiving that the advancement of learning here may also advance the work of Christ amongst the Indians and accordingly out of that stock (as it comes in) should gladly contribute might we do it without offense." The Commissioners wrote to Winslow, who replied in a letter dated May 3, 1653. At the next meeting of the Commissioners in September, 1653, Winslow's letter was considered and answered. The part that relates to the college reads, "What you propound from the honorable Corporation about six hopeful Indians to be trained up in the College under some fit tutor that preserving their own language they may attain the knowledge of other tongues and dispense in the College we fully approve as a hopeful way to further the work. But the College being already too straight for the English students we shall be forced to raise some building there for the convenience of such Indians wherein we shall expend at least an hundred pounds desiring the building may be strong and durable though plain. But we have neither yet agreed with any workmen nor are we come to any full resolution about the manner of building or charge." At the same session the Commissioners passed the following order: "The Commissioners for the Massachusetts are also desired to consider and order the building of one entire room at the College for the conveniency of six hopefull Indian youths to be trained up there according to the advice received this year from the Corporation in England: which room may be two stories high and built plain but strong and durable the charge not to exceed one hundred and twenty pounds besides the glass which may be allowed out of the parcel the Corporation hath lately sent over on the Indian account."

At the meeting of the Commission in September, 1654, it is ordered: "It is left to the Commissioners of the Massachusetts

to give order for the finishing of the building at the College and to alter the form agreed upon at the last meeting at Boston as is desired by the President of the College provided it exceed not thirty feet in length and twenty in breadth as also to take care for the entertainment of such Indian youth as may be thought meet by Mr. Eliot, Mr. Mayhew, or any other that labor in that work, to be trained up at the College and fitted for future service and to sign bills to Mr. Rawson to satisfy the charges thereof."

The building was finished and ready for use in 1655. It cost, when completed, between £300 and £400, and is supposed to have occupied the site of the present Matthews Hall.

Thus, in nine years after Eliot had first preached to the Indians, in the middle of September, 1646, at Dorchester Mills, he had not only gathered together in a town of their own choosing about fifty families of converted Indians who were supporting themselves by the arts of civilized life, had built a church and established a common school, but had also secured a dormitory in the grounds of Harvard College, where the Indian young men could live while obtaining the higher education, the expenses being paid by the Corporation in England, and where they could be trained as missionaries to go forth to civilize and Christianize the other Indians who were still living in ignorance and practising heathenish rites.

# **The Third Printing House**

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## The Third Printing House

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**W**E will now return to the question which we were considering in a previous chapter, namely, the removal of the press from the President's house. It has already been shown that it was in the President's house in 1655. In 1654 Samuel Green had printed there Eliot's *Indian Catechism* at the expense of the Corporation in England. Mr. Eliot also wanted printed copies of the *Psalms in Metre* and the *Book of Genesis*, both of which he had translated into the Indian language, but as the press did not have suitable or sufficient type the Commissioners applied to the Corporation, which, in the spring of 1655, sent to the Commissioners "a supply of woolen, linen, stockings, iron work, and letters for printing." The disposal of the "letters for printing" was left to the Commissioners of Massachusetts, who placed the font under the charge of Samuel Green, who is supposed to have printed the *Book of Genesis* the same year.

The Indian College was not successful in securing Indian students, and after remaining practically unoccupied for a year President Chauncy petitioned the Commissioners of the United Colonies in 1656 for permission to use the building for the accommodation of the English students, as the College was sadly in need of rooms. The petition was granted and subsequently renewed.

In 1658 Rev. John Eliot was ready to print his translation of the Bible into the Indian language, which, after some correspondence, the Corporation in England agreed to pay for, and arranged to have the work done at the College press. In the



winter of 1657-58 Hezekiah Usher made a trip to London as agent of the Commissioners, and while there, with funds furnished by the Corporation, purchased a press, types, and other printing materials, which were shipped to Cambridge, and the press set up in 1659, with Samuel Green in charge. Isaiah Thomas says: "The types were very good, and the faces of them as handsome as any that were made at that time; they consisted of small founts of nonpareil, brevier, long primer, small pica, pica, English, great primer and double pica; also small casts of long prima and pica Hebrew, Greek, and blacks."

The printing of the New Testament was begun early in 1660, and finished in the summer of 1661. The printing of the Old Testament, which completed the Bible, was finished in 1663. An extract from a letter from the Corporation in England, dated April 28, 1660, shows that the principal business of both presses for these years was the printing of the Indian Bible. It reads: "That so there might be nothing to hinder the despatch of the whole Bible hoping that both presses being employed and all other business laid aside that might hinder it there will be a happy progress made by the return of the next ships which may further contribution to it."

As, therefore, the printing of books in the Indian language to be used among the Indians was to be the principal business of the office and as the Corporation in England was paying the bills, would not the Indian College be the most probable and the most appropriate place to which to remove the College press, and in which to set up the Corporation press? The College would thus be relieved of the expense of finishing the "print house," for which funds came in very slowly, and the presses would be exceedingly well housed.

If not in 1655, the College press was set up there not a great while later, and when in 1659 the Corporation press was added

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to the plant the College had a well-equipped printing office for producing both Indian and English books.

Concerning the Indian College Daniel Gookin, in *Historical Collections of the Indians in New England*, written in 1674, says: "It is large enough to receive and accommodate about twenty scholars with convenient lodgings and studies; but not hitherto hath been much improved for the ends intended, by reason of the death and failing of Indian scholars. It hath hitherto been principally improved for to accommodate English scholars, and for placing and using a printing press belonging to the college. This house was built and furnished at the charge and by the appointment of the Honourable Corporation for the propagating the gospel in New England."

The Corporation press eventually became the property of the College, which received the revenues of both presses, and controlled the printing office until after the death of Rev. Mr. Eliot, which occurred on May 21, 1690. The last of Eliot's translations into the Indian language printed in his lifetime was Rev. Thomas Shepard's *Sincere Convert*, printed by Samuel Green at Cambridge in 1689. The last Indian book with the Cambridge imprint was John Cotton's *Spiritual Milk for American Babes, Translated by Grindal Rawson. Printed by Samuel and Bartholomew Green, 1691.*



**Samuel Green**

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## Samuel Green

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**A**FTER the death of Matthew Day in May, 1649, Samuel Green was appointed to take charge of the printing office. He was born in England about 1614, and was the son of Bartholomew and Elizabeth Green, who, with their children, settled in Cambridge, New England, as early as 1634. In an obituary notice of Bartholomew Green, son of Samuel Green, published in the *Boston News Letter*, January 4, 1733, it is stated that "his father was Captain Samuel Green, the famous printer of Cambridge who arrived with Governor Winthrop in 1630; he came in the same ship with the Hon. Thomas Dudley, Esq., and used to tell his children that upon their first coming ashore, both he and several others were for some time glad to lodge in empty casks to shelter them from the weather, for want of housing."

As Bartholomew Green, Senr., did not take the oath of freeman until May 14, 1634, it would seem that this statement was doubtful, and in his *Genealogical Dictionary* Mr. James Savage regards it as a silly story. In the list of "freemen made at the General Court May 14th, 1634," the name of Bartholomew Green, with only one name intervening, follows the names of Thomas Hooker and Samuel Stone, and is itself followed by the names of nine other citizens of Cambridge. A careful examination of the earlier lists of freemen shows that the names of citizens from the same town are frequently grouped together. Also out of sixteen citizens of Cambridge who were made freemen on the same day with Bartholomew Green, eleven removed to Connecticut in 1636 with the Rev. Thomas Hooker. It

CAMBRIDGE July 6 '75.

“Honoured Sir.

“I make bold to present my service to your worship, as also to make known something of those aggrivances that I have met withal of late, entreating your worship’s favor so far as your wisdom shall see fit. It is about printing; the employment I was called unto when there was none in the country to carry it along, after the death of him that was brought over for that work by Mr. Jose Glover; and although I was not used unto it, yet being urged thereunto by one and another of place, did what by my own endeavors and help that I got from others that was procured. I undertook the work and brought up my son to the same.”<sup>1</sup>

As Stephen Day died in 1668, the expression, “the death of him that was brought over for that work by Mr. Jose Glover,” could refer only to Matthew Day, and is a strong corroboration of our opinion that it was Matthew Day, and not Stephen, that Mr. Glover was relying upon to manage his printing office. The extract also furnishes conclusive evidence that Samuel Green knew nothing about printing when he undertook the management of the office, that he did not receive his appointment until after the death of Matthew Day, and therefore could have had nothing to do with the production of books previous to May, 1649.

Green, however, was quick to learn, and as the years went by the books which were issued from his press showed constant improvement. When it was desired to print books in the Indian language, he was equal to the occasion, printing the *Catechism* before September, 1654, the *Book of Genesis* in 1655, the *Psalms in Metre* in 1658, and *Pierson’s Catechism* in 1658–9. Probably the first book printed under his management, and the

<sup>1</sup> For complete letter, see *infra*, Vol. II, pp. 8–10.

*T H E*  
**CHURCH MEMBERSHIP**  
OF CHILDREN,  
*A N D T H E I R R I G H T T O*  
**BAPTISME,**

According to the holy and everlasting *COVENANT* of GOD,  
established between *HIMSELF*, and the Faithfull and their Seed after  
them, in their Generations:

*Cleared up in a Letter, sent unto a worthy Friend of the*  
*AUTHOR, and many Letters agoe written touching that Subject;*

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By *THOMAS SHEPARD*, sometimes Pastor of the Church  
of Christ at Cambridge in *New-England*.

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Published at the earnest request of many: for the Consolation  
and Encouragement, both of Parents and Children in the Lord.

*Genesis 17. 7. And I will establish my Covenant between Me and thee  
and thy seed after thee in their Generations, for an  
Everlasting Covenant, to be a GOD unto thee, and to  
thy seed after thee.*

*Mark. 16. 16. He that believeth, and is Baptized, shall be saved.*

*Acts. 2. 39. For the Promise is unto you, and to your Children, and to  
all that are afar off, even as many as the Lord our  
God shall call.*

*1 Cor. 7. 14. Else were your Children unclean, but now are they Holy.*

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*C A M B R I D G E*

Printed by Samuel Green. 1 6 6 3.





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first in which his name appears in the imprint, is *A Platform of Church Discipline*, etc. *Printed by S. G. at Cambridge in New England and are to be Sold at Cambridge and Boston Anno Dom: 1649.* The note to this title in the second edition of *History of Printing By Isaiah Thomas* reads, in part: "this book appears to be printed by one who was but little acquainted with the typographic art; it is a proof that Green was not bred to it, and that this was one of the first books from the press after he began printing. The type is new pica, or one but little worn; the press work is very bad, and that of the case is no better. . . . Soon after this period his printing was much improved."

That the President of the College had a general superintendence over the affairs of the press is shown from the following records of the General Court:

"At a third meeting of the General Court of Elections at Boston, the 15th of October, 1650. It is ordered that Richard Bellingham, Esquire, the Secretary, and Mr. Hills, or any two of them, are appointed a committee to take order for the printing of Laws agreed upon to be printed, to determine of all things in reference thereunto. Agreeing with the President for the printing of them with all expedition and to alter the title if there be cause."

"At a General Court of Elections, held at Boston, the third of May, 1654. It is ordered by this Court that henceforth the Secretary shall, within ten days after the present sessions, and so from time to time, deliver a copy of all Laws that are to be published unto the President or printer, who shall forthwith make an impression thereof to the number of five, six, or seven hundred as the Court shall order, all which copies the Treasurer shall take and pay for in wheat, or otherwise to content, for the number of five hundred, after the rate of one penny a sheet, or eight shillings a hundred for five hundred sheets of a sort, for so

many sheets as the books shall contain, and the Treasurer shall distribute the books, to every magistrate one, to every Court one, to the Secretary one, to each town where no magistrate dwells one, and the rest among the towns that bear public charge with this jurisdiction, according to the number of freemen in each town. And the order that engageth the Secretary to transcribe copies for the towns and others, is in that respect repealed."

"At a General Court held at Boston 9th of June 1654; upon conference with Mr. Dunster, (president of the college) and the printer in reference to the imprinting of the Acts of the General Court, whereby we understand some inconveniences may accrue to the printer by that Law which recites the agreement for printing. It is therefore ordered that the said law be not put forth in print, but kept amongst the written records of this Court."

These extracts would seem to show that as long as the press was owned by the Glover estate the financial concerns of the office were controlled by President Dunster, and that Green was to superintend the mechanical working of the press. When, however, the press had become the property of the College, Green was considered both as printer and manager, as appears by the following orders of the General Court:

"1658, Oct. 19. In answer to the petition of Samuel Green of Cambridge, printer, the Court judgeth it meet for his engagement, &c, to grant him three hundred acres of land where it is to be found."

"1659, Oct. 18. It is ordered by this Court that the Treasurer shall be and hereby is empowered to disburse out of the Treasury what shall be necessary tending towards the printing of the Laws, to Samuel Green, referring to his pains therein or otherwise."

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When Mr. Eliot was ready to go to the press with his Indian Bible, Green was not lacking in ability to print it, but he had not sufficient nor suitable type, he lacked press facilities, and needed more skilful workmen. As the College was unable to supply him with a better equipment, he sent to the General Court the following petition:

“ To the Honored General Court assembled at Boston, the information and request of Samuel Green, printer at Cambridge.

Humbly sheweth

Whereas your poor servant hath although with many wants and difficulties spent some years in attending the service of the Country in that work of printing, the press and the appurtenances thereof, without a speedy supply, and that especially of letters, and those principally for the printing of English, is now almost wholly incapable of farther improvement either for the answering of the countries expectation, or for the benefit of such as are employed therein, and the College (to whom the press doth properly belong) have not ability in their hands to help, so that unless some present care be taken by the wisdom and furtherance of this Honored Court, the improvement thereof, must of necessity cease, and your poor servant must be forced to change either his habitation or employment or both — The consideration and supply whereof is the humble request of your poor servant, or if not, your determination therein, that so he may more clearly see his way for the serving of the evidence of God in some other calling.

In answer to this petition the Deputies conceive the consideration hereof should be commended to the Commissioners of the United Colonies at their next meeting that so they may write to the Corporation in England, if they see meet, for the securing of £20 worth of letters for the use of the Indian

College. The Deputies have passed this and desire our honored Magistrates consent hereto.

WILLIAM TORREY, Cleric.

EDWARD RAWSON, Secret.

Consented to by the Magistrates.

5 June 1658."

The Corporation agreed to pay the expenses of printing the Indian Bible, and in 1659 sent over a new press and type which, when installed in the Indian College, gave Green a well-equipped office, and enabled him to begin to print the Indian Bible. In 1660 the Corporation sent over a skilled printer to assist Green, with whom Green was associated as a partner for four years. In 1665 he again had the sole management of the College press, which he retained as long as the press remained in Cambridge. His partnership with Marmaduke Johnson will be considered in the sketch of that printer's life.

With the exception of Johnson, who conducted a printing office in Cambridge from 1665 to 1674, Green had no competition in Cambridge and printed many books at the College press, among the more important of which, besides those already mentioned, are the General Laws for the Plymouth and Connecticut colonies and the second edition of the Indian Bible. In 1691 he had taken his son Bartholomew into partnership with him, and the last book that has been found, in the printing of which Samuel Green was interested, is *Ornaments for the Daughters of Zion. Written by Cotton Mather. Cambridge: Printed by S. G. & B. G. for Samuel Phillips at Boston, 1692.*

Samuel Green is supposed to have retired from the management of the office this year on account of the infirmities of age, and also because the College did not care to continue in the printing business. The Indian College was fast going to decay, so fast that it was torn down in 1698 to prevent its falling down,

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the moving spirit in the Indian work, which had contributed largely to the support of the office, had passed away, competition with the Boston office was sharp, and the college needed all its income in other directions. No more printing was done in Cambridge until eighteen hundred, with the exception of a few months in the early part of the Revolutionary War, while Boston was in the possession of the British troops.

Samuel Green was also prominent in the civil affairs of Cambridge, having held the offices of Town Clerk, and Clerk of the Writs. The name of Samuel Green is the most famous of all the early printers, his service as manager of the College press having extended over forty years. He was the ancestor of a long line of printers who carried the art into several of the colonies, and kept the name prominent until after the revolution of 1775.

What became of the two presses which belonged to the College is not known. The press which Mr. Glover bought in England, and which Mr. Day brought to Cambridge, was a second-hand press when bought, judging from the valuation placed upon it by Day. Its transfer to Boston and its removals from house to house must have made it very shaky, and the wear and tear of a constant usage of fifty-four years must have put it in a dilapidated condition. The Corporation press, which was bought in England and transferred to Cambridge, presumably was also a second-hand press when bought, and was in constant use in Cambridge for thirty-three years. The Indian College in which they were housed was not a great protection from the inclemency of the weather. Messrs. Jasper Dankers and Peter Sluyter of Holland, who made a tour of the American Colonies in 1679-80, and who visited Harvard College on July 9, 1680, speak of it as follows:<sup>1</sup>

“We passed by the printing office, but there was nobody in

<sup>1</sup> *Memoirs of the Long Island Hist. Soc.*, I, pp. 385, 386.

it; the paper sash however being broken, we looked in ; and saw two presses with six or eight cases of type. There is not much work done there. Our printing office is well worth two of it and even more."

In addition to being in a poor condition the presses were of an antique pattern. These were the causes, together with the inability of the College properly to equip the office, which prevented the Greens from being able to compete with the up-to-date office in Boston. When, in 1693, Bartholomew Green opened a printing office in Boston, it is not reasonable to suppose that he would have bought from the College either of these antique and dilapidated presses, as that would have been to invite failure. From lack of any evidence that either of these presses were ever removed from Cambridge, it is the belief of the writer that they disappeared with the Indian College in which they had been housed for so many years.

# **Marmaduke Johnson**

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## Marmaduke Johnson

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**T**HE credit of bringing the first master-printer to New England to engage in the printing business is due to the labors of Rev. John Eliot, and his desire to see in print his translation of the Bible into the Indian language. In a letter to the treasurer of the Corporation in England, dated Roxbury, December 28, 1658, Mr. Eliot wrote: "I shall not trouble you with anything at present save this one business of moment, touching the printing of the Bible in the Indian language, touching which business sundry of the elders did petition unto the Commissioners, moving them to further it, as a principal means of promoting religion among them. And God so guided (without man's contrivance) that I was there when it came in. They moved this doubt whether the translation I had made was generally understood? To which I answered, that upon my knowledge it was understood as far as Connecticut. . . . When the Commissioners ended their meeting, they did commit the further consideration of this matter to our Commissioners, as I understand, of whom our Governor is president.<sup>1</sup> Therefore at the coming away of this ship, I repaired to the Governor about it. I proposed this expedient, for the more easy prosecution of this work, viz., that yourselves might be moved to hire some honest young man, who hath skill to compose, (and the more skill in other parts of the work, the better,) send him over as your servant, pay him there to his content, or engage payment, let him serve you here in

<sup>1</sup> John Endicott and Simon Bradstreet were the Commissioners for Massachusetts in 1658.

New-England at the press in Harvard College, and work under the College printer, in impressing the Bible in the Indian language, and with him send a convenient stock of paper to begin withal. The Governor was pleased to send for Mr. Norton to advise in it, who came and did heartily further it, whereupon the Governor promised to write unto yourselves, and propose the matter, which also I do, and do earnestly entreat your assistance herein. They have none of the Scriptures printed in their own language save *Genesis*, and *Matthew*, and a few *Psalms* in *Metre*, and I bless the Lord they have so much, and such as see these notes may easily observe that they read them, and improve them, which putteth my soul into an earnest longing that they might have more zeal. I bless the Lord, that the whole book of God is translated into their own language, it wanteth but revising, transcribing and printing. Oh that the Lord would so move, that by some means or other it may be printed."

On December 28, 1658, Governor Endicott, according to his promise, wrote: "I have been moved by divers able and godly men here with us to propound unto your pious consideration, whether it might not be needful for the better instruction of the Indians amongst us in the true knowledge of God to get the whole Bible of the Old and New Testament, which is already translated into the Indian tongue, to be printed: many here with us divines and others judge it a thing that will be acceptable to God, and very profitable for the poor heathen. If yourselves do so esteem of it too, it will be necessary to provide paper and letters and such things as may further the work, as also a journey-man printer to be helpful under Mr. Green our printer to expedite the work. . . . Mr. Eliot will be ready at all times to correct the sheets as fast as they are printed and desireth nothing for his pains."

Evidently Governor Endicott did not fully comprehend the situation. From his intimate acquaintance with the printing

office Mr. Eliot saw the great need of a skilled printer, and in his letter to the Corporation suggested the sending over of a competent person. Governor Endicott presumably thought that it was simply more help that was required, and therefore asked for a journeyman printer, with which the office was fully supplied.

The Corporation in their letter dated May 7, 1659, replied as follows :

“ As to the printing of the Bible in the Indian language, mentioned in Mr. Endicot’s letter, which we understand is already translated into the Indian tongue, we conceive will not only be acceptable unto God, but profitable to the poor heathen and will much tend to the promotion of the spiritual part of this work amongst them ; and therefore we offer it not only as our own but as the judgment of others that the New Testament be first printed in the Indian language and do desire by the next, what number of them you intend to have printed ; and how much paper the number will take up, and that you send over one sheet of the paper which might agree with that already printed ; and whether you have material sufficient to carry on the same ; and because we would have no failure therein, have thought good to send a catalogue of the materials fit for printing with the charge of them according to information given us, because we are advertised that if any of them be wanting it may prejudice the finishing of the work. And as for a printer if you want one we desire you to send us how he must be qualified, whether as a composer or letter-printer.”

In their letter dated September 7, 1659, the Commissioners <sup>1</sup> replied :

“ Touching the printing of the Bible in the Indian language being encouraged by yourselves and pressed by Mr. Eliot’s

<sup>1</sup> The Commissioners for Massachusetts in 1659 were Samuel Bradstreet and Major General Daniel Denison.

affectionate zeal which he hath constantly held forth for this work, we shall take order for the printing of the New Testament; which being finished we shall thereby be the better directed in our further proceeding therein. We think to print one thousand copies, and for paper and other materials shall depend on Mr. Usher who hath undertaken to furnish according to the printer's direction."

Nothing was said, however, as to what sort of a printer they wanted sent over. This information, as well as the needs of the press in printing materials, undoubtedly was sent to Mr. Hezekiah Usher, the Boston merchant, who was at this time in London as agent for the Massachusetts Colony, and while there, with funds furnished by the Corporation, bought a press and other printing materials, which were sent to Cambridge, and placed in the Indian College under the charge of Samuel Green, the college printer. He also bought a font of type with money furnished by the Commissioners, as, in the account of the Indian stock which they sent to the Corporation enclosed in the above letter, it appears that they had spent eighty pounds "for printing letters for the Bible." As requested, a specimen sheet of the New Testament, four leaves, was printed under the supervision of Samuel Green, and sent over to the Corporation.

The following extracts relating to the engagement of a printer are taken from the manuscript minutes of the Proceedings of the Corporation :

"21 April 1660. Mr. Treasurer reports that in pursuance of the order and desire of this Court of the 14th inst. he hath treated with the printer Marmaduke Johnson about going into N. E. to print the Bible in the Indian language and reports the printer is willing to go and be employed in that service at the salary of £ 40 per annum besides diet, lodging, and washing and a quarter's salary in advance and his time to be there for three

years and more if the Corporation or Commissioners for the United Colonies please to command from the time of his going on shipboard and the Corporation to pay his passage thither. And the said Marmaduke Johnson is contented and willing to give security unto the Corporation to perform these agreements abovementioned. And it is ordered that articles be forthwith prepared according to the agreement abovementioned.”

The contract which the Corporation made with Johnson reads as follows :

“ *Articles of agreement* indented, made, concluded, and agreed upon the one and twentieth day of April in the year of our Lord God 1660 *Between* the President and Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England on the one part and Marmaduke Johnson, Citizen and Stationer of London on the other part as followeth that is to say.

*Imprimis* the said Marmaduke Johnson for himself, his executors and administrators doth covenant, grant and agree to and with the said President and Society and their successors by these presents in manner and form following that is to say that he the said Marmaduke Johnson shall and will at the charges of the said President and Society pass and go over unto Boston in New England in such ship as the treasurer of the said Society for the time being shall appoint. And shall serve the said President and Society and their successors in New England aforesaid in the art of a printer for the printing of the Bible in the Indian language and such other books as he shall be directed to print for and during the term of three years to be accounted from the time of his departure from Gravesend upon the said voyage and for such longer time after the expiration of the said three years as the said President and Society or their successors or the Commissioners of the United Colonies of New England in New England for the time being shall order and think fit not exceed-

ing one year more. And that he the said Marmaduke Johnson shall and will during the said term and terms do and use his best endeavor, art, skill, and knowledge as well in setting as in all other works and employments touching the printing of the said Bible and other books as aforesaid. And shall work twelve hours in every day at the least in the same employment (Sabbath days excepted) or otherwise make reasonable allowance and satisfaction to the said President and Society or their successors for his neglect therein upon certificate of such neglect to be made by the said Commissioners of the said United Colonies or the major part of them. And further that he the said Marmaduke Johnson shall and will during his said service and employment as near as he can follow and observe all such orders and directions in and about the printing of the Bible and premises as shall be from time to time given unto him by the said President and Society their successors or assigns or the said Commissioners of the said United Colonies for the time being or by Mr. John Eliot or Mr. Green now resident in New England aforesaid or such other person or persons as the said President and Society or the said Commissioners for the time being shall appoint. And shall from time to time be accountable to them and every of them respectively for and concerning all his doings and employments aforesaid. *In Consideration* whereof the said President and Society for them and their successors do covenant, grant and agree to and with the said Marmaduke Johnson his executors and administrators by these presents that they the said President and Society their successors or assigns shall and will at their own charges with all convenient speed provide and pay for the passage of the said Marmaduke Johnson in some good ship from this port of London to New England aforesaid. And shall and will also well and truly pay or cause to be paid unto the said Marmaduke Johnson or his assigns yearly for and during the continuance of his said service

and employment the yearly salary or sum of forty pounds of lawful money of England per annum and so after the same rate for a lesser time than a year to be paid in London aforesaid quarterly by ten pounds every quarter of a year commencing from the departure of the said Marmaduke Johnson from Gravesend upon the said voyage as aforesaid deducting the sum of ten pounds advanced and paid unto him for the first quarter of a year's salary at or before then sealing and delivery of these presents the receipt whereof he the said Marmaduke Johnson doth hereby acknowledge accordingly. And also that they the said President and Society their successors or assigns shall and will at their own costs and charges likewise find, provide, and allow unto the said Marmaduke Johnson during his said service and employment good and sufficient meat drink washing and lodging. Provided always and it is agreed by and between the said parties to these presents that if the said Marmaduke Johnson shall die or decease out of this world before the end of the said term or terms before agreed upon for his said service and employment and that the said President and Society or their successors not being informed of such decease shall happen to pay to the attorney or assignee of the said Marmaduke any more of the said salary than shall be due to him after the rate aforesaid at the time of such his decease that then in such case the executors administrators or assigns of the said Marmaduke shall and will upon certificate of such decease of the said Marmaduke from the said Commissioners of the United Colonies or the major part of them repay or cause to be repaid unto the treasurer of the said Society for the time being so much money as shall be so paid as an overplus aforesaid. *In Witness* whereof to the one part of these presents remaining with the said Marmaduke Johnson the said President and Society have caused their common seal to be put and to the other part thereof remaining with the said President and Society the said Marmaduke



duke Johnson hath put his hand and seal the day and year first above written.

This is a true copy examined  
by me

JN<sup>o</sup> HOOPER Clerk to the said Corporation.”

It will be noticed that by this contract the Corporation had heeded the request of Mr. Eliot rather than that of the Governor, and had engaged not only a composer, but also one who was skilled in the whole art of printing. In the contract he is styled *Stationer and Citizen of London*, which means that he was a master-printer and a member of the Stationers' Guild. The contract was very carefully drawn, and the rights of both parties properly guarded. After events showed the wisdom of these precautions.

In their letter to the Commissioners, dated April 28, 1660, the Corporation announces the engagement of Marmaduke Johnson as follows:

“Concerning your printing of the New Testament in the Indian language, a sheet whereof you have transmitted to us, we concur with yourselves therein and do approve of that provision you have made for printing the same conceiving and offering as our judgment that it is better to print fifteen hundred than a thousand, hoping that by encouragement from Sion College with whom we have had late conference, you may be enabled to print fifteen hundred of the Old Testament likewise. . . . We have out of our desire to further a work of so great concernment, having hopes that something will be collected in particular with relation to the printing of the Old Testament, agreed with an able printer for three years upon the terms and conditions enclosed. And understanding by Mr. Usher's agent that there is nothing wanting except paper we have sent over one hundred and four reams of every sum<sup>1</sup> the sheet that is now

<sup>1</sup> Same.

sent over to us is of; that so there might be nothing to hinder the despatch of the whole bible, hoping that both presses being employed and all other business laid aside that might hinder it, there will be a happy progress made by the return of the next ship which may further contribution with relation to it. . . . We desire you at the earnest request of Mr. Johnson, the printer, and for his encouragement in this undertaking of printing the Bible in the Indian language, his name may be mentioned with others as a printer and person that hath been instrumental therein, for whose diet, lodging, and washing we desire you to take care of.”

On the margin of the manuscript minutes of the Proceedings of the Corporation relating to the engagement of Johnson<sup>1</sup> are the following memoranda :

“ Mem. — Marmaduke Johnson went from Gravesend on 14 May 1660 from which time his salary is to begin at £40 per annum. May 22, 1660. — Whereas it appears that Mr. Thomas Bell one of the members of this Corporation hath paid five pounds for the passage of Marmaduke Johnson shipped on board the Prudent MARY bound for New England and more the sum of 18s for a bed, bolser, and one blanket for his accommodation in his voyage to New England aforesaid, it is ordered that Mr. Henry Ashurst, Treasurer of the Corporation be desired to pay the said Mr. Thomas Bell for said several sums by him disbursed accordingly.”

From *John Hull's Diary* we learn that the “ Prudent Mary,” of which Captain Woodgreen was master, arrived at Boston in June, 1660, laden with supplies of clothing for the country.<sup>2</sup> Arrangements having been made for his diet and lodging, Johnson proceeded immediately to Cambridge, and joining Samuel Green, assisted in printing the Bible in the Indian language.

<sup>1</sup> See page 261.

<sup>2</sup> *Archeologia Americana*, III, p. 195.

Before September, six sheets, or twenty-four leaves, of the New Testament had been printed.

At the meeting of the Commissioners in New Haven, September 10, 1660, they sent to the Corporation a letter which reads in part:

“ We shall attend your advice for the impression of the whole bible without which we should have rested in our former determination that the copy might have been fully perused and perfected by the most skilfulest helps in the country; and such order is taken by the advice and consent of Mr. Eliot, Mr. Usher, Mr. Green, and Mr. Johnson, that the impression of the Old and New Testament shall be carried on together which they have already begun and resolve to prosecute with all diligence. A sheet of Genesis we have seen which we have ordered shall be transmitted unto you; the printers doubt not but to print a sheet every week and compute the whole to amount to a hundred and fifty sheets. Mr. Johnson will be gratified with the honor of the impression and accommodated in other respects we hope to be content.”

When completed, the Old and New Testaments contained five hundred and forty printed leaves, or one hundred and thirty-five sheets. Each page is printed in double columns with headings in Indian at the top, references at the side, and catchwords. A full page, including headings, references, and catchwords, measures  $6\frac{5}{8}$  by  $4\frac{5}{8}$  inches. Dr. James Hammond Trumbull says, “ The paper used was of excellent quality, of the size known to old printers as ‘ pot ’ (from its original watermark, a tankard) which should measure  $12\frac{1}{2}$  by 15 inches, giving  $6\frac{1}{4}$  by  $7\frac{1}{2}$  for the quarto fold.” Mr. Isaiah Thomas says, “ This work was printed with new types, full faced bourgeois on a brevier body.”

The printing of the New Testament was finished in the summer of 1661; and the Commissioners having heard that the Corporation had been dissolved, owing to the change of

government in England caused by the restoration of Charles II, but that there were good hopes that it would be incorporated anew by his majesty, resolved "to present his majesty with the New Testament printed in the Indian language," to which, as a matter of policy, they prefixed two leaves containing a dedication to his majesty.

The Corporation was soon reorganized and incorporated anew as the "Company for the Propagation of the Gospel amongst the Heathen Natives of New England and the Parts adjacent in America." Of this new corporation the Hon. Robert Boyle was the first governor, and it continued the work inaugurated by the earlier corporation. The Commissioners of the United Colonies were made the agents of the new corporation, to which they reported as formerly.

During 1661 Johnson became enamoured of the daughter of his associate Samuel Green, who, supposing Johnson to be a married man, objected and forbade him his house. Johnson persisting, Green adopted stronger measures. On the Middlesex County Court Records for April, 1662, appears the following:

"Marmaduke Johnson being presented by the Grand Jury of this County in October last for obtaining the affections of the daughter of Ensign Samuel Greene without the knowledge or consent of Samuel Greene, also being expressly forbidden her society, threatening the death of any other who should make suit to her, the said Marmaduke Johnson appearing in Court, confessed a part of the said presentment, and denied the other part thereof, which by evidence on file with the records of this Court appeared to be true; the Court, on hearing the case, sentenced the said Johnson to pay as a fine for seeking to draw away the affections of the daughter of the said Samuel Greene without his consent five pounds; and for his threatening speeches, to give security for the peace and his appearance at the next Court at Charlestown, in case he abide so long within the jurisdiction

of this Colony ; and for his presumptuous and wicked attempt of marriage, having by his own confession, a wife in England, that he return with the first opportunity that he may to his wife, on penalty of twenty pounds, to be forfeited and paid to the County Treasurer ; and to pay the costs of Court.”

Out of respect to the Corporation, and on account of his skill as a printer, he was allowed by the Court to serve his three years' contract before complying with the order to return to England. His defence before the Court was that he had obtained a divorce, but he was not believed. His troubles so preyed upon his mind that for six months he absented himself from business. That his presence at the press was greatly needed is shown in the return of disbursements which the Commissioners made to the Corporation in September, 1662, one of the items of which reads :

“ To printing 21 sheets of the Old Testament at  
     3 10 per sheet Mr. Johnson being absent   73—10—00  
 To printing 25 sheets with his help at 50 sh.  
     per sheet —   62—10—00 ”

By his actions Johnson incurred the ill will of the Commissioners, and in their letter to the Corporation, dated September 10, 1662, they make the following statement :<sup>1</sup>

“ We only crave leave at present for the preventing of an objection that may arise concerning the particulars charged for the printing wherein you will find 21 sheets at three pounds ten shillings a sheet and the rest but 50 shillings a sheet the reason whereof lies here. It pleased the honored Corporation to send over one Marmaduke Johnson a printer to attend the work on condition as they will inform you, who hath carried here very unworthily of which he hath been openly convicted and censured in some of our courts although as yet no execution

<sup>1</sup> The Commissioners for Massachusetts for 1662 were Major D. Denison and Thomas Danforth.

of sentence against him, peculiar favor having been shewed him with respect to the Corporation that sent him over; but notwithstanding all patience and lenity used towards him he hath proved very idle and nought and absented himself from the work more than half a year at one time for want of whose assistance the printer by his agreement with us was to have the allowance of twenty one pounds the which is to be defalcated out of his salary in England by the honored Corporation there."

Johnson's contract expired May 14, 1663, and he was discharged by the Commissioners. He did not return to England as ordered by the Court, but remained in Cambridge, probably because he had been informed by a letter from his brother, Thomas Johnson, of London, that the Corporation intended to engage him for another year. The letter was dated April 22, 1663, and probably reached Marmaduke about the time his contract expired. It shows that Johnson was of a respectable family, his brother, who was his surety, being a man of means and of considerable influence with the Corporation. It throws a great deal of light upon the controversy between Green and Johnson, and shows that Johnson's side of the case had not been properly presented. It shows that Green had sent an "invective" letter to Thomas Johnson, who forwarded it to Marmaduke. This letter, which unfortunately is lost, undoubtedly contained the reason why Green proceeded against Johnson. Johnson's letter also shows that, by other testimony than his own, and by a personal interview with Mr. Bradstreet, who was at that time in London as agent of the Massachusetts Colony, Thomas supposed he "had satisfied the scruples" of Green. In it Thomas Johnson speaks very highly of Green's daughter, and expresses a hope that the wedding might take place, as, all difficulties having been removed, Marmaduke was free to marry. The postscript shows that Marmaduke might reasonably expect

to be appointed manager of the press, as Green was to "have a good place in another way." The new evidence contained in this letter, when carefully considered, shows that Marmaduke Johnson's character was very different from what it has usually been represented. The letter itself is preserved in the Middlesex County Clerk's office at Cambridge, from which we have obtained an official copy, which reads :

" FEB: 27 1663

LOVING BROTHER, — I find by your many letters, that you much blame me in my remissness of not writing unto you, which I must confess in some part I am guilty of ; but I was so much troubled about that lewd woman, once your wife, that I did vow not to write till I heard better news of you ; and this my resolution was backed with an invective letter from Mr. Green which I herewith send you ; I had thought that Mary Cook's depositions, Mr. Tracey's testimony, and my verbal expressions to Mr. Bradstreet had been sufficient to satisfy that scruple but I perceive by your letters it is not. Brother, you must know this, that your being absent was the only cause of your not being discharged from her, for such a thing could not be done by proxy. [Here follows a detailed account of the disreputable conduct of Johnson's wife and of her acquaintance with one Jeoffries] who kept her company continually, though he had a wife and children of his own. This fellow by her landlady was represented to me as a suitor to her and was a silk-stocking weaver by trade going by the name of Stockwell and that he would marry her, if she were free from you, and report went here at that time that you were married in New England, upon which account I was much persuaded for both your goods to condescend to the articles which I sent you by Mr. Tracey, who likewise urged me very much to it, saying he was confident you did not care what it cost you so you were quit of her (besides your own expressions in your letters to that purpose) which

being done, he was much troubled by his wife for keeping her company, so that he sent her (by what wile I know not) to Barbadoes ; and she died by the way : Brother, this is most certain, you need not, (nor others) doubt of it, upon my life. . . . Brother, I should not have written so much, but to satisfy those persons that are so envious against you, whom they are I know not. In my former letter I confess I did intimate my dislike of too forward proceedings in that business of Mr. Green's daughter (because of your wife) a person perhaps that I shall never have the happiness to see ; but your high character of her, hath made me render you (as to myself) less blamable in the desiring of so worthy a maid : But before I go any further, I must needs entreat you to remember my kind respects unto her, and if I were certain of your mutual friendship again, I should present her with a token worthy of acceptance. Your wife being dead, and you free, perhaps there may be an agreement with Mr. Green and you and you settle there to your heart's content. Since my former writing, I have gained a result from the Corporation and they are willing that you should continue there a year longer, and according as they hear of your civil carriage you may be settled there. They gave me order to invite you to be more circumspect in your ways, and to regain your credit, and they will do what lies in them for your good : this the Honorable Mr. Boyle, Governor, Sir Lawrence Blomfield, and Mr. Ashurst with several others told me. Therefore brother, pray you be careful, and let there be no enmity between Mr. Green and you, for they take any misdemeanor against him as done to themselves. Mr. Eliot's letter prevailed much on your behalf and Mr. Boyle wished me to write to you to return Mr. Eliot humble thanks for his love, and for you to make good that character which he gave of you. You must not take it amiss that I did not accept your bill of exchange of ten pounds for I was not certain that they would pay me any money. You



see the date of my letter in February in order to send, but I could come to no conclusion till the 9th of April. They do intend you shall take your salary yourself, and so by that means I shall be taken off of a great deal of trouble. Their letters I suppose will speak as much. The other enclosed makes mention that my mother is dead, she died upon the 30 of January 1663. I am fearful that the ships will be gone, and therefore I conclude with my prayers to God for you, and rest

Your loving Brother

THO. JOHNSON.

Rood-Lane, APR. 10  
1663.

APRIL the 23d, 1663.

After I had sealed up my letter, I had notice from Mr. Ashurst that the Corporation would continue your salary to be paid here; therefore for the ten pounds, if you can take it up there to save your credit, it shall be paid here upon sight. Brother you know the reason why I did not accept the bill. I wonder how you can have occasion for so much money being your diet and lodging is (or at least was) to be provided for you. I must again reiterate the desires of the Corporation in general that you would become a new man, and demean yourself civilly, without any difference with Green, and they have promised you what preferment lies in their power. Pray then not to gain the £20 of Green, for that will make the friction bigger than ever. Apply yourself to Mr. Eliot and the Commissioners there, and you may do well enough. Mr. Thompson told me he was confident there would be employment enough for you, and that forthwith they intended to print the New England Psalms. I should think now by a friendly compliance with Green, you might (giving him some allowance) gain the government of the printing-house into your own hands, for I hear he is anxious, and hath a good place in another way. Brother know this, by

force you can never do it, but rather may by policy : You understand yourself very well : I would you had been but a good husband in this time, you might have had materials of your own by this time. Mr. Grover vowed to have trusted 30 or £40 with you. Remember the motto *nunquam sera est*. . . . Brother pray excuse my nonsense, for I am at this time so full of pain with the gout that I can hardly hold my pen with patience. For Holland I have sent you none, having nobody to do it for me. Here is the Young Clerks Guide, with the Banquet of Jestes. Pray become a new man, and without all question you may do very well there, once more committing you to the protection of the Almighty, with my prayer for you, I rest

Your loving Brother

THOMAS JOHNSON."

The letter from the Corporation to the Commissioners, which Thomas Johnson refers to, is dated April 9, 1663, and reads in part as follows :

"Concerning Marmaduke Johnson the printer we are sorry he hath so miscarried by which means the printing of the bible hath been retarded. We are resolved to default the £21 you mention out of his salary. Mr. Eliot whose letter bears date three months after yours<sup>1</sup> writes that Johnson is again returned into the work whose brother also hath been with us and gives us great assurance of his brother's reformation and following his business diligently for the time to come. And he being (as Mr. Eliot writes) an able and useful man in the press we have thought fit further to make trial of him for one year longer and the rather because upon Mr. Eliot's motion and the goodness of the work we have thought fit and ordered that the Psalms of David in metre shall be printed in the Indian language ; and so

<sup>1</sup> Dec. 10, 1662.

we hope that the said Johnson performing his promise of amendment for time to come may be useful in the furthering of this work which we so much desire the finishing of."

Evidently Johnson had recovered from his infatuation with Green's daughter and returning to the press had given such satisfactory service that Mr. Eliot wrote a commendatory letter to the Corporation. Although the Commissioners had discharged him on May 14, 1663, the date of the expiration of his three years' contract, yet on the receipt of this letter from the Corporation they reluctantly re-engaged him for another year, commencing with August 20, 1663. Concerning this engagement the Commissioners in their letter to the Corporation, dated September 18, 1663, write as follows :

"Some time after our last letter Marmaduke Johnson returned to the press and hath carried himself indifferently well since so far as we know but the Bible being finished and little other work presenting we dismissed him at the end of the term you had contracted with him for, but understanding your honorable Corporation hath agreed with him for another year we shall endeavor to employ him as well as we can by printing the Psalms and another little treatise of Mr. Baxter's which Mr. Eliot is translating into the Indian language which is thought may be useful and profitable to the Indians. And yet there will not be full employment for him and for after times our own printer will be sufficiently able to print off any work that will be necessary for their use so that at the year's end he may be dismissed or sooner if he please. And if there be occasion further to employ him, it were much better to contract with him here to print by the sheet than by allowing him standing wages. We were forced upon his earnest request to let him five pounds in part of his wages to supply his present necessities which must be defaulted by your honors with his brother. His last year by agreement with him beginneth the 20th of August last from the end of his former contract till

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that time he was out of employment and followed his own occasions.

“ We have ordered Mr. Usher to present your honors by the next ship with 20 copies of the Bible and as many of the Psalms if printed off before the ships departure hence.”

It was resolved by the Commissioners at the same meeting at which this letter was ordered to be sent that “ Mr. Simon Bradstreet and Mr. Danforth are requested to take care for the preparation of an epistle to the Indian Bible dedicatory to his Majesty and cause the same to be printed.”

The above letter shows that however pleasing Johnson was to Mr. Eliot, he was not satisfactory to the Commissioners, and that they intended to discharge him as soon as possible. By the leniency of the Court Johnson had been allowed to remain in Cambridge until the end of his three years' contract, and as he did not then return to England he was brought before the County Court in October, 1663, and compelled to give bonds in the sum of forty pounds to “ depart this jurisdiction according to the order of the Court, within six weeks time next ensuing, or by Christopher Clark's ship, now bound for England.” Appeal was made to a higher Court, and at the session of the General Court held in October, 1663, it was ordered “ upon perusal of the Commissioner's letter to the honorable Corporation in England, and Mr. Eliot's motion touching Marmaduke Johnson, printer, informing that the said Corporation have contracted with the said Johnson for one year, expiring 10th August next; it is hereby ordered that there be a suspension of the execution of an order of the last County Court of Middlesex for one year, enjoining the said Johnson to return to England to his wife, whom he allegeth is deceased and may have opportunity, in the interval, to produce a full certificate thereof.” From the fact that Thomas Johnson's letter to Marmaduke is preserved in the October files of the County Court it is very evident that it was

offered by Marmaduke in evidence to prove the death of his wife, but it does not seem to have been satisfactory to the Court. As the records of the Middlesex County Court between 1663 and 1671 were destroyed by fire the final disposition of this case does not appear.

Johnson being allowed to complete his year's contract, was employed in printing in the Indian language the *Psalms in Metre* and Baxter's *Call to the Unconverted*. The *Psalms in Metre* was uniform with the Bible, with which it was bound, and contained thirteen sheets or fifty-two leaves. Mr. Wilberforce Eames in his *Bibliographic Notes on Eliot's Indian Bible* says: "In its preparation he probably used, to a certain extent, the New England version or *Bay Psalm Book* which was a translation into English from the Hebrew originally made by himself, Thomas Welde, and Richard Mather, first printed in 1640." No copy separate from the Bible is known to be in existence.

Baxter's *Call to the Unconverted* was probably a duodecimo of ninety-six leaves. In the disbursements presented to the Commissioners in September, 1664, is the charge:

"To printing Mr. Baxter's Call 8 sheets at 5osh. per  
sheet 20 — 00 — 00."

No copy is known to be in existence.

During the four years that Johnson was employed by the Commissioners his services were also used in printing several books in the English language for which allowance was made to the Corporation, and in all of which his name appeared in the imprint. At the expiration of his contract, August 20, 1664, Johnson obeyed the order of the Court and returned to England. He probably would have done so in any event, as, by the terms of his contract, his salary was payable in London. Judging from after events, he evidently had in mind certain ideas concerning the press which, in order to be successfully carried out, would necessitate his return to England.

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Mr. Eliot had been so pleased with Johnson's conduct that in a letter to the Commissioners dated August 25, 1664, he writes :

“ Touching the press I thank God and yourselves for the good success of the work in it. Mr. Baxter's *Call* is printed and dispersed, and though I have Mr. Shepard's *Sincere Convert* and *Sound Believer* almost translated, though not fitted and finished for the press, yet by advertisement from the honorable Corporation, I must lay that by and fall upon the *Practice of Piety* which I had intended to be the last ; therefore this winter I purpose, if the Lord will, to set upon that book. Moreover they are pleased to put me upon a *Grammar* of this language, which my sons and I have oft spoken of, but now I must, (if the Lord give life and strength) be doing about it. But we are not able to do much in it, because we know not the latitude and corners of the language : some general and useful collections, I hope the Lord will enable us to produce. And for these reasons my request is, that you would please to continue my interpreter's salary, which is ten pound more added to what I was bold to make mention of afore.

“ My request also, in respect of Mr. Johnson, is, that seeing the Lord hath made him instrumental to finish the Bible and Baxter, and is now returning for England, you would please to give him his due encouragement, and such further countenance and commendation, as your wisdoms shall see meet to afford him.”

It appears that after the Bible had been printed Mr. Eliot translated Baxter's *Call to the Unconverted*, which the Commissioners, in September, 1663, notified the Corporation they were going to print. Mr. Boyle sent word that it would be better taken in England if the *Practice of Piety* was printed first, but this notice did not arrive until after the translation of the *Call* had been made, and it was upon the *Call* that Johnson had been principally employed in 1664.

How much attention the Commissioners paid to Eliot's request regarding Johnson is shown in the letter which they wrote to the Corporation dated September 10, 1664. It reads :

“We dismissed Marmaduke Johnson the printer at the end of his term agreed for having improved him as well as we could for the year past by employing him with our own printer to print such Indian works as could be prepared which he was not able to do alone, with such other English treatises which did present for which allowance hath been made proportionable to his labor. Some time hath been lost for want of employment but for after times we hope to have all books for the Indians use printed upon easier terms by our own printer especially if it please your honors to send over a font of Pica letters, Roman and Italian, which are much wanted for printing the *Practice of Piety* and other works. And so when the presses shall be improved for the use of the English we shall be careful that due allowance be made to the stock for the same. It seemed Mr. Johnson ordered all his salary to be received and disposed of in England which hath put him to some straits here which forced us to allow him five pound formerly (as we intimated in our last) and since he hath taken up the sum of four pound all which is to be accounted a part of his salary for the last year. The remainder whereof we doubt not your honors will satisfy there. The number of bibles with psalm books printed were upwards of a thousand ; of Baxter's Call 1000, and of Psalters 500, divers whereof of all sorts are disposed to the Indians and the rest ready for their use as they can be bound up and there may be occasion.”

Johnson was not acceptable to the Commissioners, and they had so intimated in their previous letters to the Corporation. They now supposed they had been relieved of him, and that with the addition of a new font of type they would be able to have all the printing done under the management of Green alone. On the other hand Mr. Charles Chauncy, the Presi-

dent of the College, and Mr. Eliot were very much pleased with Johnson, both of whom wrote letters commendatory of him to the Hon. Robert Boyle, Governor of the Corporation. In his letter dated October 2, 1664, Mr. Chauncy writes: "There are two things that mainly conduce by way of preparation to the conversion of the Indians, the schools for their education, and the printing press to furnish them with fit books to bring up their children in schools and catechism. For this latter work it hath pleased you to send over to us an able printer Marmaduke Johnson who though he hath been in former times loose in his life and conversation, yet this last year he hath been very much reformed and in likelihood one that may carry on the printing work with greater advantage if yourselves shall be pleased to commit the managing of the press to him and to furnish him with fonts of letters for the printing of English, Indian, Latin and Greek, and some for Hebrew, provided that he live not asunder from his wife, as he hath done before, over long, which is now reported dead; as also that the College, to which all impressions from the foundation of it belong, together with the licensing, correcting, and oversight of books printed, have a suitable allowance by the sheet, which they have been deprived of in the whole impression of the Indian Bible, which loss I entreat you to consider, for it is not too late, besides other Indian books have been printed without any advantage at all to the College."

Certainly a strong letter in favor of placing Johnson in charge of the printing office. Eliot's letter also recommended him very highly.

In reply to the Commissioners' request for a font of type, and to their intimation that they could get along without Johnson, the Hon. Robert Boyle, in a letter dated March 1, 1664-5, writes:

"As touching Marmaduke Johnson the printer we received



letters of recommendation from Mr. Eliot and Mr. Chauncy, President of your College in New England, both which give ample testimony of his ability and fitness to be employed in printing books in the Indian language and desire that the pieces which do yet remain may pass through his hands upon whose recommendations (being men of skill and judgment in that business we have conceived such an opinion of his ability that we have had thoughts of contracting with him again much desiring that he should be made further use of if it may be conveniently done) but we refer it to your wisdoms after you shall have heard what Mr. Eliot and Mr. Chauncy can say on his behalf to do therein as God shall direct you. In the mean time we pray you to commit the press, letters and implements of printing belonging to us to the care of Mr. Eliot to be preserved to our use. Mr. Chauncy writes that by the fundamental constitution of the college all impressions belong to them, with the licensing, correcting, and oversight of books printed, and that they have always had a suitable allowance by the sheet, which they have been deprived of in the whole impression of the Indian Bible and other Indian books, which loss he desires might be considered. He also desires that both in Grammar schools and in the College also there should be appointed by us a fit salary for schoolmasters and tutors in the College for every Indian that is instructed by them to encourage them in the work. A copy of whose letter we have herewith sent you, desiring you to consider thereof and by your next to let us know your opinion concerning the same, for we cannot certainly understand by Mr. Chauncy's letter what allowance he expecteth should be made to the College on books printed, nor to schoolmasters and tutors, neither can we without your advice judge what is fit to be allowed to in that behalf, we finding in your account divers considerable sums of money which you have already paid and allowed to schoolmasters and tutors, and there-

fore desiring that all due encouragement should be given to the College and all others who labor in the good work, we refer it to your consideration and shall be glad to receive some advice from you herein after you have conferred with Mr. Chauncy about it. We have sent over according to your request some letters such as by advice with Mr. Johnson are judged most convenient for the work which we have consigned to Mr. Eliot because we understand that you will not meet till September next and for that there may be occasion to make use thereof in the meantime.”

The reading of this letter was not very pleasing to the Massachusetts Commissioners. They learned that instead of being freed from Johnson they were to have him back again, with a strong intimation from the Corporation that, indorsed by the recommendation of both Mr. Chauncy and Mr. Eliot, it would be very agreeable to the Corporation if he was appointed manager of the Corporation press. The press itself, which had been under their control since 1659, was taken out of their hands and committed to the care of Mr. Eliot. The letters of the new font of type which they had asked for had been selected according to the advice of Johnson, and had also been assigned to Mr. Eliot. Evidently their connection with the Corporation press hereafter would be simply to pay the bills. This letter was probably brought in the ship “Society,” of which Captain John Pierce was master, which arrived at Boston in May, 1665. In the same ship probably was Marmaduke Johnson, bringing with him the font of type for the Corporation press, as well as a new press and letters of his own. Johnson knew of the good feeling of the Corporation towards him, and feeling confident of his appointment as manager of the Corporation press, had returned to New England. To guard against all contingencies, and to be wholly independent of the College press, he brought with him a press of his own. Undoubtedly Johnson intended to set up

his press in Boston, where, if he received the appointment, he expected to remove the Corporation press. The arrival of Johnson with his new press was very disagreeable to the Commissioners. The opening of a rival office in Boston, and the removal thither of the Corporation press, would be disastrous to the College press, as it meant practically the loss of all the printing. The situation was critical, and called for prompt treatment. Up to this time the press had been practically free, as the restrictions placed upon it by the license law of 1662 had been removed at the next session of the General Court, and a printing office might be opened in any town in which it was thought desirable. This must be prevented; and an appeal, in which it is probable the College authorities joined, was made to the General Court, which responded by passing on May 27, 1665, the following order:

“ For the preventing of

Irregularities and abuse to the Authority of the Country by the printing press.

It is ordered by this Court and Authority thereof that there shall be no printing press allowed in any town within this jurisdiction but in Cambridge nor shall any person or persons presume to print any copy but by the allowance first obtained under the hands of such as this Court shall from time to time empower thereunto, and for the present do nominate and empower Captain Daniel Gookin, Mr. Thomas Danforth, the present president of the College, and Mr. Jonathan Mitchell, or any three of them duly to survey such copy or copies as offered and in case of non observance of this order to forfeit the press to the country and be disabled from using any such profession within this jurisdiction for the time to come provided this order shall not extend to the obstruction of any copy which this Court shall judge meet to order to be published in print, the depu-

ties have passed this desiring the consent of our honorable magistrates.

WILLIAM TORREY, Cleric.

Consented unto provided that instead of Captain Daniel Gookin and Mr. Thomas Danforth, Mr. John Sherman and Mr. Thomas Shepard be deputed to join with the present president and Mr. Jonathan Mitchell, any two of whom shall have power to allow or prohibit according to this order.

RICHARD BELLINGHAM, Governor.

Consented to by the deputies.

WILLIAM TORREY, Cleric."

This order was evidently aimed at Johnson, and was passed without his knowledge, for when in June he made application to be admitted as a citizen of Boston, with the intention of opening a printing office there, he was informed that an order had passed the General Court prohibiting printing in any town but Cambridge. Although by this order Johnson was obliged to set up his press in Cambridge, his opponents do not appear to have gained any other advantage. From an examination of the imprints of the books printed between 1665 and 1669, it appears that with the exception of the *Practice of Piety*, which he printed conjointly with Green, Johnson had been appointed manager of the Corporation press in accordance with the intimated desire of the Corporation, that he retained the exclusive use of the new font of type, and that he had opened an independent office.

The non-receipt of the new font of type was the cause of much chagrin to those in charge of the College press, who made several attempts to secure it. Some light is thrown upon the situation by the letter of the Commissioners to the Honorable Robert Boyle, dated September 13, 1665, which reads in part:

"Your honors direction referring the printing presses we have also attended, and at Mr. Eliot's request we have consented to

allow for the printing of the *Practice of Piety* forty shillings per sheet for the printer making allowance for the correction of the press and we finding paper: and Mr. Johnson is joint partner with our printer in the work. What letters he hath now brought over we do not yet understand the gift of but are advised that they are not the same that were advised by himself here. He told us that the whole font were not belonging to the Corporation by reason that the monies that he received of yourselves was not sufficient for the purchase thereof. We are not able of giving your honor a further account by reason that we are ignorant of what monies he received of yourselves as also of the account of the letters he acknowledged to be yours: he having now brought over a printing press with supply of letters for himself; besides his interest which he claims in that font of letters which he saith is yours. We have also conferred with Mr. Chauncy, Mr. Eliot being present, in relation to his letter and find that the former president did agree with the printer to allow the College for the use of their press, letters, and all other charges about the same, correcting of the press included, the sum of ten shillings per sheet, but the press and letters being now yours and a full allowance made the printers for all other charges, we see not the like reason for it now, yet nevertheless, if you shall please to order any encouragement to the College, on this or any other consideration we shall thankfully embrace it. . . .

“We understand by Mr. Eliot that your honors have ordered him to translate into the Indian language and cause to be printed the *Practice of Piety* and some works of Mr. Shepard’s which will cost near two hundred pounds. We humbly conceive that those with what are already printed will be sufficient for the natives for many years and had they been lesser books or some abridgment of these they would have been altogether as useful for the Indians and the disbursements for the same far less.”

The tone of this letter shows that the Commissioners were not pleased with the condition of affairs. They had not only lost control of the press, but they had not been consulted in regard to the books to be printed. In the last paragraph they allowed their feelings to get the better of their judgment and made a severe criticism of what had already been done. Whether or not this criticism influenced the Corporation does not appear, but after 1665 the press appears to have been under the management of Marmaduke Johnson, whose name alone appears in the imprints of the publications of the Corporation press.

Whether or not Johnson set up his own press in Cambridge in 1665 is not known. The date in the imprint of Eliot's *Communion of Churches* is 1665, but if that book was printed in the twelfth month of the year it would be dated 1665, although by modern dating it would be 1666. We know that for a portion of the year he was engaged in printing on the Corporation press conjointly with Green Bayley's *Practice of Piety*. The printing of this book probably was not begun until June, or after. According to the Commissioners' letter dated September 13, it was "to be printed." As the estimated cost was £200 it was not a small job, and would necessarily take considerable time. It is therefore very probable that his press was set up late in 1665, or early in 1666, in a house which possibly he at first rented, but later bought. On *The Proprietors' Records of Cambridge* is the following entry:

"20th of February 1665-6. Matthew Bridge sold to Marmaduke Johnson, printer, a house and a half rood of land bounded northerly by Long street, easterly by Widow Crane, southerly by Herbert Pelham, and westerly by Wood street."

This to-day is the southeasterly corner of Boylston and Winthrop streets. In Johnson's time this was one of the most desirable situations in Cambridge, and travellers to Boston

passed his door. The College buildings and the College printing office were only a short distance away. Here was opened the first independent printing office in the colony, under the ownership and management of a first-class printer, where any person could have a book printed subject only to the licensers of the press. In this house probably was printed the first book in the Massachusetts Colony that bore in the imprint the name of Marmaduke Johnson alone. The title-page reads: *Communion of Churches: or the Divine Management of Gospel-Churches by the Ordinance of Councils, Constituted in Order according to the Scriptures, etc. Written by John Eliot, Teacher of Roxbury in N. E. Cambridge; Printed by Marmaduke Johnson 1665.*

The Preface reads:

“Although a few copies of this small script are printed, yet it is not published, only committed privately to some godly and able hands to be viewed, corrected, amended, rejected, as it shall be found to hold weight in the sanctuary balance, or not. And it is the humble request of the Author, that whatever objections, rectifications or emendations may occur, they may be conveyed unto him; who desireth nothing may be accepted in the Churches, but what is according to the will and minde of God, and tendeth to holiness, peace, and promotion of the holy kingdome of Jesus Christ. The procuring of half so many copies written and corrected, would be more difficult and chargeable than the printing these few. I beg the prayers as well as the pains of the precious Servants of the Lord, that I may never have the least finger in doing any thing that may be derogatory to the holiness and honour of Jesus Christ and his churches. And to this I subscribe myself one of the least of the labourers in the Lord’s vineyard. John Eliot.”

It is described as a small octavo of forty pages. The copy in the New York Public Library was, until recently, the only copy known to be in existence. It formerly belonged to Mr. John

Menzies of New York. At the sale of his library in 1875 it brought one hundred and fifty dollars, the purchaser being Mr. George Brinley of Hartford, Connecticut. When his library was sold in 1879 it was listed in the catalogue as *The First Privately Printed American Book*. The purchaser was Mr. James Lenox.

Probably the second book printed by Johnson was *The Psalms, Hymns, and Spiritual Songs of the Old and New Testament, Faithfully Translated into English Metre. For the Use, Edification and Comfort of the Saints in public and private, especially in New England. Cambridge. Printed for Hezekiah Usher of Boston*. It is a duodecimo, containing one hundred and twenty pages, printed in double columns.

This book puzzled Isaiah Thomas very much. In his *History of Printing*, when describing it, he inserted the following note:

“This was, I believe, the third edition of the New England Version of the Psalms after it had been revised and improved by President Dunster, &c., and the fifth, including all former editions. I have a complete copy of this edition, but the name of the printer, and the year in which it was printed, are not mentioned. It is calculated by being printed in a small page, with a very small type, to bind up with English editions of the pocket Bible; and as the printing is executed by a good workman, and is the best I have seen from the Cambridge press I conclude, therefore, it could not be printed by Green before the arrival of Marmaduke Johnson in 1660. I have no doubt it was printed under Johnson’s care; and probably soon after the Indian Bible came from the press in 1663. Johnson was a good printer, and so called by the Corporation in England, who engaged, and sent him over to assist Green in printing that work. Although in this edition the typography far exceeds in neatness any work then printed, it is very incorrect; but this



might have been the more the fault of the corrector of the press than the printer. My belief that it was published about the year 1664 or 1665, is confirmed by its being printed for Hezekiah Usher, the only bookseller that I can find an account of at that time in New England. He dealt largely in merchandise and was then agent to the Corporation in England for propagating the Gospel in New England. It is a curious fact that nonpareil types were used so early in this country; I have not seen them in any other book printed either at Cambridge or Boston, before the revolution; even brevier type had been but seldom used in the printing houses in Boston, earlier than 1760. The nonpareil used for the Psalms was new, and a very handsome faced letter."

This reasoning by Thomas was accurate, and he was very near the truth when he gave the date of printing as 1664 or 1665. If he had known what is known to-day, that Johnson had brought over in 1665 a new press and a new font of type, the book would not have puzzled him, and he would have stated that it was printed by Marmaduke Johnson late in 1665, or early in 1666.

In 1666 Johnson printed the Indian Grammar which in 1664 Mr. Eliot informed the Commissioners he was about to prepare. On August 26, 1664, Mr. Eliot wrote to Mr. Boyle as follows: "You are pleased to intimate unto me a memorandum of your desires that there may be a grammar of our Indian language composed for public and after use, which motion, as I doubt not it springeth from yourself so my answer unto yourself about it will be most proper. I and my sons (John and Joseph) have often spoken about it. But now I take your intimation as a command to set about it. When I have finished the translation of the *Practice of Piety*, my purpose is, if the Lord will, and that I do live, to set upon some essay and beginning of reducing this language into rule: which, in the

most common and useful points, I do see, is reducible ; though there be corners and anomalies full of difficulty to be reduced under any stated rule, as yourself know, better than I, it is in all languages. I have not so much either insight or judgment, as to dare to undertake anything worthy the name of a grammar ; only some preparatory collections that way tending, which may be of no small use unto such as may be studious to learn this language, I desire, if God will to take some pains in it. But this is a work for the morrow ; today my work is translation, which, by the Lord's help, I desire to attend unto."

Having translated Bailey's *Practice of Piety*, which was printed by Green and Johnson in 1665 on the Corporation press, Mr. Eliot went to work on the Indian grammar, which he finished in 1666 and which was printed the same year by Johnson, the Corporation printer, in an edition of about five hundred copies. It was uniform with the Testament and Psalter, with which it was sometimes bound. It contained seventy-two pages, the verso of the title-page and the last two pages being blank.

In the account of the Indian Stock rendered by the Commissioners, September 15, 1667, are the following charges :

To two hundred Indian Bibles bound and clasped 2 <sup>s</sup> 6 <sup>d</sup> p.	25—00—00
To two hundred Practice of Piety at 6 <sup>d</sup>	5—00—00
To 4 hundred Mr. Baxter's Call : bound at 3 <sup>s</sup> a hundred	00—12—00
To 4 hundred and fifty Indian Grammars at 3 <sup>s</sup> a hundred	00—13—06

As Johnson was a binder as well as a printer, all these books were probably bound by him.

The press which Johnson had brought over and had been compelled to set up in Cambridge made the third press now in the colony. For the first time there were rival printing offices, and both were controlled by active and skilful managers. Naturally competition was sharp. The College office was nearly coeval with the College itself, and had the prestige of antiquity.

As it was presumed to be run for the benefit of the College, the graduates who had printing to be done would desire to carry their manuscripts to the office which would help their alma mater. It, however, was in poor condition to perform the work required of it. Its press was of an antiquated pattern, and very much battered by nearly thirty years of constant use. Its type was broken, and it had lost control of the newer press and letters which had been sent over by the Corporation in 1659. How important the Corporation plant was to the College printing office will appear from the following inventory, taken four years previously :

“An account of the utensils for printing belonging to the Corporation in the custody of Samuel Green of Cambridge, printer, and given in under his hand to the Commissioners September 1, (1662).

The press with what belongs to it with one tin pan and two friskets

Item : two tables of cases for letters with one odd case.

Item : the font of letters together with the imperfections that came since.

Item : one brass bed, one imposing stone.

Item : 2 barrels of ink, 3 chases, 2 composing sticks, one ley brush, 2 candlesticks, one for the cases, the other for the press.

Item : the frame and box for the cistern.

Item : the riglet brass and scabbard, the sponge, 1 gally, 1 mallet, 1 sheeting stick, and furniture for the chases.

Item : the letters that came before that were mingled with the college's.”

The rival office was equipped with a modern press and a new font of type. Its owner not only controlled the Corporation press and type, but also the new font of type recently sent over by the Corporation.

An office so well furnished, and which could produce books printed with such excellence as the *Communion of Churches* and *Psalms in Metre*, was a powerful competitor, and measures must

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be taken to weaken its influence. The first move was the prevention of an attempt to modify the order limiting the press which had been passed in 1665. The new bill was entered probably by Johnson and his friends. The action of the General Court is shown by the following record:

“It is ordered by this Court and the authority thereof: that no printer within this jurisdiction shall presume to imprint any book or paper for public sale, unless the same be allowed under the hands of Mr. Charles Chauncy, Mr. John Sherman, pastor of Watertown, Mr. John Mitchell, pastor of Cambridge, Mr. Thomas Shepard, teacher of Charlestown, or any two of them; upon penalty of forfeiture of all the impressions to be seized on by warrant from one or two magistrates and the fine of five pounds: to be paid by the printer for every offence being hereby legally convicted. The magistrates have passed this with reference to the consent of their brethren the deputies hereto.

21st of MAY, 1667.

EDWARD RAWSON, Secretary.

The deputies consented not hereto.

RICHARD WALDEN, Speaker.”

As the order of 1665 made the forfeiture of the press and disability of practising the profession of printer the penalty for disobeying its provisions, it is evident that the opponents of Johnson wished to be able to have the terms of the order enforced if he should be caught napping, and therefore caused the defeat of the attempt to modify this order.

The next move was to secure, if possible, the new font of type which had been sent over at the request of the Commissioners, not only for the Indian work but also for the English work. This, however, had been consigned to Mr. Eliot, and to block any attempts in this direction a shrewd move was made

by Mr. Eliot, as, in the records of the meeting of the Commissioners in September, 1667, is found the following entry :

“ In answer to Mr. Eliot’s proposal to Mr. Danforth. The font of letters brought last over by Mr. Johnson for the Corporation is tendered to him in part of his salary, at the same price it cost in England which if accepted is to be charged to the next account.

“ And in case Mr. Eliot do not accept those letters on his account Mr. Danforth is desired to receive those letters from Mr. Johnson and secure them with the rest of the printing implements.” In the Commissioners’ accounts the cost is placed at 31 17s. 8d.

Whether or not Mr. Eliot accepted the offer does not appear. After events would seem to indicate that he did not. But even if he did not the Commissioners had no authority to take away the types, as both the press and letters had been placed in the charge of Mr. Eliot, and the order had not been revoked. No other attempt to obtain the font alone was made until after Johnson’s death.

The conditions with which he was surrounded in Cambridge were not satisfactory to Johnson, and in April, 1668, he made a second attempt to get into Boston. His petition reads :

“ To the honorable the Governor, the Deputy Governor, and the rest of the Honored Magistrates and deputies of the Massachusetts Colony assembled in the General Court at Boston. 29th 2<sup>m</sup> 1668 :

The humble petition of Marmaduke Johnson of Cambridge,  
printer.

Sheweth

That your petitioner by the good hand and providence of God returning from England in the year 1665 with his printing press and letters, and finding no law of the country, nor any

order of the court to prohibit the exercise of his calling in any town, or place convenient within this jurisdiction, did apply himself (according to the custom of strangers) to the selectmen of the Town of Boston for their admittance of him into that town to inhabit ; in which juncture of time, your petitioner was informed that an order had passed this Honored Court, prohibiting the exercise of printing in any town within this jurisdiction, save only at Cambridge. Whereupon your petitioner did yield ready obedience thereunto, and took Cambridge for his place of abode, where he hath ever since continued. Now may it please this honored Court, your petitioner finding to his great loss and detriment the inconveniency of living in a town where no trade, or very little is managed, especially in that which is appertaining to, or tends to the promotion of his calling, as your petitioner is ready more fully to demonstrate if called thereunto, and being desirous by all lawful ways and means to make himself, and his art useful and advantageous to this Commonwealth as possibly he may by God's blessing on his endeavors : and humbly conceiving that there is not the like restraint, or confinement of any other art or science :

Doth therefore in all humility pray and beseech this honored Court, that you would be pleased to take the premises into your grave and serious considerations, that so (if in your wisdoms you shall see meet) the practitioners of the art of printing may have liberty to sit down in such convenient place within this jurisdiction, as they shall find most commodious for them ; submitting at all times to such laws and orders as are, or shall be made concerning the premises by the authority of this Commonwealth.

And your petitioner (as in bound) shall ever pray," etc.

The petition was not granted, possibly because the College opposed it, not wishing to have any printing done anywhere except in Cambridge.

The next move against Johnson appears to have been an endeavor to find him guilty of printing a book without a license, and so cause the forfeiture of his press. As the Corporation press and letters were held by Johnson through the friendship of Mr. Eliot, they could be secured only by some misdemeanor on the part of Johnson. The order of 1665 was still in force, and if he could be entangled in any way he might be seriously embarrassed by heavy fines, or his presses forfeited. The books printed at the College printing office, of course, had been properly licensed, but it might be possible that Johnson had neglected to secure a license for some of his. The opportunity was too tempting to be neglected. Accordingly on September 2, 1668, both Green and Johnson were summoned "to make their personal appearance before the Council sitting at Boston on third instant at nine of the clock in the morning to give an account of what books have lately been printed at Cambridge, by whom, and by what authority."

At the appointed time Green appeared before the Council and stated that he had printed the following books, for all of which he had permission from the licensers, viz. :

- “ 1. A Drop of Honey.
2. The Rule of the New Creature.
3. The Way to a Blessed Estate in this life.
4. The Assembly of Divine Catechism.
5. A Narrative of the Plague and Fire at London.<sup>1</sup>
6. Tidings from Rome the grand Trappan.
7. The Young Man's Monitor.

For all of which he had license from the President and Mr. Mitchell.”

This statement is not strictly true, as the imprint of No. 5 reads, *Cambridge: Printed by Marmaduke Johnson, 1668.*

Johnson appeared before the Council and said he had printed

- “ 1. The Primer.
2. The Psalter.

<sup>1</sup> See p. 249.

3. Meditations on Death and Eternity.
4. The Rise, Spring, and Foundations of the Anabaptists.
5. The Righteous Man's Evidence of Heaven. By Mr. Rogers.
6. The Isle of Pines.

For all of which he had permission of the President and Mr. Chauncy, except the Isle of Pines."

The question has arisen as to what was the book referred to in Johnson's list as "The Primer." It was undoubtedly a reprint of the "common primer" which had been imported in large quantities by Mr. Eliot, but which now he had printed here at Johnson's press. Having translated it into the Indian language, he had it printed by Johnson in that language in 1669. The presence of "4 doz. Primers" in the inventory of Johnson's estate would seem to indicate that it was the "common primer" which Johnson had referred to. As the translations into the Indian language belonged to the Corporation, no copies of that edition would be included in that inventory.

The third book mentioned in Johnson's list, by an abbreviated title, was *Daily Meditations: or, Quotidian Preparations for and Considerations of Death and Eternity*. Begun July 19, 1666. By Philip Pain: who lately suffering Shipwreck, was drowned. No copy is known to be extant. A second edition was published in 1670, the imprint of which reads, *Printed by S. G. and M. J. 1670*. This second edition is a small octavo of twenty-four pages, four of which are blank. It is very probably a reprint of the first edition both in size, type, and pagination. The last two printed pages contain a poem headed *A Postscript to the Reader*, signed M. J. (Marmaduke Johnson), which would indicate that the printer was gifted with a poetic nature, and possessed some literary talent. Photographic fac-similes of these two pages have been printed as tending to illustrate the varied accomplishments of Mr. Johnson.

He was fined five pounds for printing *The Isle of Pines* with-



out a license, but petitioned to have his fine remitted. The petition reads:

“ To the honorable Council of the Commonwealth.

The humble Petition of Marmaduke Johnson of Cambridge,  
Printer.

Sheweth,

That your petitioner doth with all humility acknowledge his rashness and inadvertency in printing a late pamphlet (called The Isle of Pines) without due order and license first had and obtained; for which being summoned before their honorable Council, upon his confession and conversation, was fined in the sum of five pounds to the Commonwealth. Now may it please this honorable Council, your petitioner having in that act no intent or design to contemn authority, or to vend or publish anything that might be displeasing thereto (as may appear by his affixing his name to the said pamphlet) but only the hope of procuring something to himself thereby for his necessary subsistence, his calling in this country being very chargeable, his living thereon difficult, the gain thereby uncertain, and his loss by printing frequent; he therefore humbly prays this honored Council (if it may seem good to your wisdoms) that the said fine may be remitted unto him and he discharged from the payment thereof.

And your petitioner shall ever pray ” etc.

There is no record that the fine was remitted.

As this attack upon Johnson had practically failed he was now accused of sharp practices in his dealings, and the General Court was asked to interfere. The petition reads:

“ To the honored Council sitting at Boston the humble request of Samuel Green, printer to the College at Cambridge :

Humbly entreateth that whereas there was an order made by the honored General Court concerning printing: that there

*Begin* DAILY *Sutton*  
MEDITATIONS:  
O'R,  
*Quotidian Preparations for*  
AND  
Considerations of  
DEATH  
AND  
ETERNITY  
Begun *July 19. 1666.*

---

By *Philip Pain*: Who lately suffering  
Shipwrack, was drowned.

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*Job 30. 23. For I know that thou wilt bring me to  
death, and to the house appointed for all living.  
Eccles. 12. 1. Remember now thy Creator in the dayes  
of thy youth, &c.*

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CAMBRIDGE:  
Printed by *S.G. and M. J.* 1670.

*By permission of the Massachusetts Historical Society*





A POSTSCRIPT TO THE  
R E A D E R.

*T*'Is not to show the Author's Wit, but Grace,  
That these few Poems are expos'd to view;  
In which thou may'st behold Youths flow'ry face  
Set toward Zion, seeking things most true:  
Contemning worldly Vain's, but prizing high  
A place i'th' Mansions of Eternity.

*Here was hours spent indeed! and yet not spent;  
Time thus improv'd, is to Redeem the time.  
For Youth, Death's company thus to frequent,  
(As if a dweller in his shady Clime)  
Does prove a thing so rare, so seldom known,  
That scarce Old Age can call this all its own.*

*By hourly meditating on the Grave,  
He came acquainted with that darksome Cell;  
Knew that from going thither none could save,  
(We on the Brink of Machpelah do dwell)  
Therefore prepar'd with sedulous desire  
To take his Bed there, when he should expire.*

*And*





A POSTSCRIPT TO THE  
R E A D E R.

*T* Is not to show the Author's Wit, but Grace,  
That these few Poems are expos'd to view;  
In which thou may'st behold Youths flow'ry face  
Sit toward Sion, seeking things most true:  
Contemning worldly Vain's, but prizing high  
A place i'th' Mansions of Eternity.

*Here was hours spent indeed! and yet not spent;  
Time thus improv'd, is to Redeem the time.  
For Youth, Death's company thus to frequent,  
(As if a dweller in his shady Clime)  
Does prove a thing so rare, so seldome known,  
That scarce Old Age can call this all its own.*

*By hourly meditating on the Grave,  
He came acquainted with that darksome Cell;  
Knew that from going thither none could save,  
(we on the Brink of Machpelah do dwell)  
Therefore prepar'd with sedulous desire  
To take his Bed there, when he should expire.*

*And*

there were two printing offices in Cambridge. The Corporation press and the College press were both housed in the Indian College, and as manager of the Corporation press Johnson had the right to enter that building. This naturally was annoying to Green, as it gave Johnson the opportunity to note what Green was doing, and explains Green's insinuation that Johnson was appropriating "copy" not belonging to him.

The several attempts to get rid of Johnson or ruin his business having failed, he was now permitted to carry on his printing office without interference. He also retained control of the Corporation press, but owing to lack of funds the Corporation did not make much use of it during 1668 and 1669. On June 4, 1668, the Corporation wrote to the Commissioners that in their former letter they had notified them that on account of a deficiency in their receipts, "partly through the hand of God in the fire (which hath consumed part of our revenue) and partly through the appointing of some men who by force or fraud have endeavored to divert what rightly belongs thereunto," they would be unable to send over money or supplies for one year. They now write: "We must continue our desires which we presume you will think but necessary and reasonable, to abate all charge that is not essential to the being of this good work; as printing and binding of books, and salaries to Governors, and gratuities to those that do not actually contribute to the work."

In April, 1669, through the generosity of Mr. Montreys, a French gentleman, they were able to send over £450, which was used in paying salaries and the most pressing bills, and also in printing the Indian primer which Eliot had translated. In their letter to the Corporation dated October 8, 1669, the Commissioners say, "And although the honorable Corporation for that work was pleased some time since to order the ceasing of any further expenses for printing on that behalf, yet we being

informed by Mr. Eliot and Mr. Bourne that the instruction of the Indians is greatly obstructed for want of a small primer and catechism in their language which being prepared by Mr. Eliot we have ordered the printing thereof, and do hope on the considerations promised it will not be displeasing to you."

An examination of the contents of this primer would seem to confirm the opinion we have already advanced that it was a translation into the Indian language of the "common primer" which Mr. Eliot had imported in large quantities several times, as well as "hornbooks." Where it varies from the "common primer" the cause will be found probably in a few additions by Mr. Eliot. It had no illustrations and contained sixty-four unnumbered leaves. Although the imprint reads simply *Cambridge, Printed 1669*, the printer was Marmaduke Johnson, the Corporation printer. The only copy known is in the library of the University of Edinburgh. The "common primer" was undoubtedly the model used by Benjamin Harris when, twenty years later, he was compiling the book afterwards so familiarly known as *The New England Primer*.

Although, through the friendship of President Chauncy and Mr. Eliot, Johnson had been able to frustrate the machinations of his opponents, yet it is very probable that President Chauncy at least did not favor his plan of removing his printing office to Boston. This would be detrimental to the College prosperity, especially if he carried the Corporation press with him. Whether or not Mr. Eliot approved of the plan does not appear, but it is probable that he did, as it would make the office more accessible to him. In order to avoid at least the removal of the Corporation press, the President and Fellows of Harvard College in 1669 sent the following letter written in Latin to Mr. Boyle, the Governor of the Corporation. Translated it reads :



“To the Honorable Robert Boyle, Esquire, Governor of the Corporation appointed for the Propagation of the Gospel amongst the Indians in New England.

Most Honored Sir, Pillar of the common weal of Old and New England, and the rest of you, Most Illustrious Sirs, his copartners, who hold the office of promoting Christianity among the Indians,

As nature hath taught frail plants and especially young vines to demand supports whereon to lean, that so they may bear richer fruit, yea to put forth sundry long shoots wherewith, as it were with arms, they embrace whatsoever they seize, even so is it wont to be with academies (it must specially be so with this poor academy of Harvard) which lacking resources of their own must depend on the support and munificence of benefactors, as we on that mainly of you, whose zeal and care not only the eternal welfare of the barbarians, but also the association of Christ's followers hath been faithfully promoted hereto.

To your kindness therefore, which we have so often experienced, we resort the more readily in our straits. So whereas you sent to us a press and types and other things pertaining to printing, together with a skilled printer, that so the Holy Scriptures might be translated into the Indian tongue, and other books of instruction, clearly setting forth the true teaching and practice of religion might be printed in Indian, this, so far as might be, hath been most faithfully accomplished to the profit and advantage of the Indians. Surely they have been printed with the press and supplied to the necessity of the Indians. So we now give you to know that there is no more need to issue yet further books from the press for the use of the Indians.

Now, then, that our types, as well as the older characters belonging to the College which we had before, have by long service become much worn and unfit to be used for printing, we make it our urgent entreaty to you and to your kindness that

out of your liberality you would make a free gift to our College, viz. types and characters and the requisites of printing, as well what you sent us for the first printing of the Scriptures as what you afterwards further added to the former supply, through your printer, Johnson.

For we fear (alas!) that if the printing press fall to wreck or in any wise fail us, and the characters be taken from us, not only, to begin with, will America be without printers and the Academy with its scholars suffer damage in the progress of its studies and our very meetings with opportunities for taking degrees be hindered, but also the common weal and the civil laws passed for the general good will, to the unspeakable, almost irreparable, loss of the Christian religion and the churches of the whole community of New England, utterly perish and come to destruction.

For it is not to be expected that the yearly revenues of the College, which hardly — nay, not so much as hardly — suffice to maintain the academic body and its students, can avail to meet such great expenses as are of necessity required for the work of printing.

Forgive, most worthy Sirs, our importunity and our need, if on this occasion we look for such and so great a benefit for letters, yea if we ask it for letters from men most lettered and most liberal, on behalf of unlettered and unlearned youth and of the propagation of religion to future ages.

With all devotion to you chiefly, most noble Governor and others in your most renowned Committee of Councils.

Charles Chauncy, President of Harvard College, with the Fellows, and their common consent.

27th October, 1669.”

What reply the Corporation made to this pathetic appeal of the President and Fellows does not appear, as its letter has been

lost, but it was evidently favorable, as the following record appears in *Harvard College Book*, No. 1:

“Harvard College, Sept. 27, 1670. The Honorable Corporation for the Indians having ordered their printing press, letters and utensils to be delivered to the College, the Treasurer is ordered forthwith to take order for the receiving thereof, and to dispose of the same for the College use and improvement.”

The correspondence in regard to the press had been carried on without regard to the Commissioners, as in their letter to the Corporation dated September 8, 1670, they say, “We thank the Honorable Corporation for their kind respect to our poor College in lending to them the printing utensils that belong to the Indian stock, although for our parts we were ignorant of any motion in that kind.”

The direct appeal to the Corporation had resulted favorably. The statement of the President and Fellows that there would be no further need of printing books for the Indians had evidently been believed by the Corporation, and as it was itself pressed for money it was better to loan the printing outfit to the College, reserving the right to use it if ever there should be need, than to incur additional expenses. The announcement of the loan was probably contained in the annual letter which the Corporation sent to the Commissioners, dated May or June, 1670, but by the record in the *College Book* the plant was not received by the College before the following October.

But nearly a year before the College had obtained possession of the Corporation plant Green and Johnson had entered into some business agreement by which competition should cease, and both names appear in the imprints of books printed on the Corporation press. On the records of the General Court of Elections held at Plymouth on July 7, 1668, is the following entry:

“In reference unto the printing of the book entitled New

England Memoriall, the Court have ordered that the Treasurer shall indent with the printer for the printing thereof; and to improve that which is or shall be contributed thereunto with the sum of twenty pounds ordered by the Court to that end, and the sum of five pounds more if he shall see cause, the said twenty-five pounds to be paid out of the country's stock; and to indent with Mr. Green to print it if he will do it as cheap as the other, and for the number of copies to do as he shall see cause."

When the *Almanack . . . for the Year of the Christian Aera, 1669*, appeared the imprint read: *Cambridge, Printed by S. G. and M. J. 1669*. At the bottom of the last page is the following advertisement: "Reader, in a few weeks will come forth to publick view, the History of New-England, Entituled New-Englands Memoriall or a Brief Relation of the most Remarkable Passages of the Providence of God manifested to the Planters of N. E. in America &c. By Nathaniel Morton." When *New Englands Memoriall* appeared the imprint read: *Cambridge: Printed by S. G. and M. J. for John Usher of Boston. 1669*. As these are the first two books upon which this imprint appears upon the title-page since Johnson had opened his own printing office, it is very evident that Green and Johnson had not been caught napping by the Plymouth Treasurer, but had ceased competition and formed a master-printer's union.

On October 26, 1669, the General Court of the Colony of New-Plymouth ordered the publishing of *Balm in Gilead*, a sermon preached before the Court by Rev. Thomas Walley on the first day of June, 1669, being the day of election there. This was also *Printed by S. G. and M. J.* A second edition was printed in 1670. Afterwards this imprint appeared quite frequently, which shows that the relations between the rival offices were now amicable, and the Corporation press operated jointly. They, however, conducted separate offices, and on

books printed on the College press the imprint contained only the name of Samuel Green. On books printed on Johnson's press only the name of Marmaduke Johnson appeared.

Johnson's marriage about this time is another indication that the two printers were no longer hostile to each other. Whether or not Green's daughter had died or married does not appear, but on April 28, 1670, Johnson married Ruth Cane, his next-door neighbor, the daughter of Christopher and Margaret Cane. Christopher Cane was an early settler in Cambridge, his name appearing on the records as early as 1634. He was a respected citizen of the town, a member of the church, and his name is mentioned frequently in the church and town records.

Notwithstanding the font of type which the Corporation had sent over with Johnson was specially mentioned in the letter of the President and Fellows, yet Johnson did not turn it over to the College. He had paid for part of it from his own funds, and to obtain an equitable division probably the assistance of the Courts would have to be invoked. This would be repugnant to the College and against the wishes of President Chauncy and Mr. Eliot, the strong friends of Johnson. It therefore remained in his possession until his death.

In 1671 Johnson printed *Indian Dialogues, For their Instruction in that great service of Christ, in calling home their Countrymen to the Knowledge of God, and of themselves, and of Jesus Christ. Printed at Cambridge, 1671.* It is a very small quarto about the size of the Indian Primer, containing eighty-eight pages, its signatures in fours. Its three dialogues are all in English. In the preface Eliot says, "If the Lord give life and strength of dayes, I may hereafter put forth these, or the like dialogues in the Indian Tongue."

In 1672 Johnson printed *The Logic Primer* in Indian and English. The imprint reads, *Printed by M. J. 1672.* It is about the size of the Indian Primer, contains forty unnum-

# Balm in Gilead

TO HEAL  
SIONS WOUNDS:

OR,

A Treatise wherein there is a clear Discovery of the  
most Prevailing Sickneses of *New-England*, both in the  
Civill and Ecclesiasticall State ; As also futable  
Remedies for the Cure of them :

Collected out of that Spirituall Directory,  
*The Word of God.*

Delivered in a SERMON Preached before the  
Generall Court of the Colony of *NEW-PLIMOUTH*  
on the first day of *June* 1669. being the

DAY of ELECTION

T H E R E.

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By *Thomas Walley*, Pastor of the Church of Christ at  
*Barnstable* in *New-England*.

---

*Jer. 14. 18* Hast thou utterly rejected *Judah* & hath thy soul loathed *Zion* ?  
why hast thou smitten us, and there is no healing for us ? we looked for  
peace, and there is no good ; and for the time of healing, and behold  
trouble.

*Hosea 14. 1* O *Israel*, return unto the Lord thy God ; for thou hast fallen  
by thine iniquity.

*Jer. 6. 8.* Be thou instructed, O *Jerusalem*. lest my soul depart from thee,  
lest I make thee desolate, a land not-inhabited.

*Jer. 3. 22.* Return ye backsliding children, and I will heal your back-  
slidings : Behold we come unto thee, for thou art the Lord our God.

---

C A M B R I D G E :

Printed by *S. G.* and *M. J.* 1 6 7 0.



bered leaves, the text in the Indian language with an interlinear translation. It had been prepared by Mr. Eliot for the use of the Indian young men who were preparing to be teachers. He says in a letter to the Corporation dated September 20, 1670: "And seeing they must have teachers amongst themselves, they must also be taught to be teachers for which cause I have begun to teach them the art of teaching, and I find some of them very capable. And while I live, my purpose is (by the grace of Christ assisting) to make it one of my chief cares and labors to teach them some of the Liberal Arts and Sciences, and the way how to analyze and lay out into particulars, both the works and word of God, and how to communicate knowledge to others, methodically and skilfully, and especially the method of divinity."

Once every fortnight in the summer time Mr. Eliot gave a lecture in logic and theology at Natick, and it was for the young men who attended these lectures that he prepared *The Logic Primer*. At the meeting of the Commissioners at Plymouth September 6, 1672, "Mr. Hezekiah Usher is ordered to pay out of the Indian stock in his custody to Marmaduke Johnson for printing, stitching, and cutting of a thousand Indian Logic Primers 6—00—00."

The imprint of both the *Indian Dialogues* and *Logic Primer* shows that whenever the Corporation had occasion to use their press Johnson was the official printer and that Green was, as he himself says, "not regarded<sup>1</sup> by the Corporation." Of the *Indian Dialogues* two copies only are known to be extant, one in the New York Public Library, the other in the Bodleian Library. Of the *Logic Primer* the only copy known is the one in the British Museum.

By the death of President Chauncy, February 19, 1672, Johnson lost a powerful friend. Whether or not it was due to

<sup>1</sup> See *infra*, Vol. II, p. 89.



his death does not appear, but after 1671 the names of Green and Johnson do not appear conjointly in the imprints. As the Corporation authorized the printing of very few books, Johnson was obliged to depend upon what printing he could secure for his own press. That he was fairly successful would appear from the fact that between 1665 and 1674 he printed at least twenty books alone, and nineteen in partnership with Green. During the same period Green printed forty-five books alone.

The following record shows how the board of licensers had been reorganized :

“ May 15, 1672. The late president of the College who was appointed with others to license such things as were to pass the press, he being dead, the Court doth judge it necessary that a supply be made in that place, and for that end the Court appoints Mr. John Oxenbridge and Urian Oakes as additions to those already appointed; any two of whom agreeing in their approbation shall be accounted as sufficient license for the press.” As the books of Urian Oakes were printed by Green, it is probable that his influence was thrown in favor of the College press.

At a town meeting held in Cambridge on November 11, 1672, Johnson was chosen one of the constables of the town, an office which he held until his death.

On May 27, 1673, the Corporation of Harvard College made a contract with Marmaduke Johnson, which reads, “ that for the space of three years he shall have the use of the font of the long primer letters; for which he is to pay thirty shillings in money per annum to the College Treasurer and deliver the President ten copies of every book he shall print.” What font of type is referred to is indefinite, but as Johnson still held the font which he brought over in 1665, possibly it was the font which accompanied the press sent over in 1659.

At a meeting of the College Corporation held June 15, 1674, it was voted “ that Mr. Marmaduke Johnson’s bargain made

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May 27, 1673, ordered to be confirmed by writings, and his privilege of being seer of the College confirmed." In his *Diary* Judge Sewall makes the following record:<sup>1</sup>

"June 15, 1674. The Corporation met and chose Sir Thacher Fellow, Mr. Johnson, Printer."

This was Johnson's last official appointment in Cambridge. These records prove that the College authorities were favorably disposed towards Johnson, and that Green had good reason for saying that Johnson had "at last wrought him quite out of the Indian work."<sup>2</sup>

Johnson evidently had his business well established in Cambridge, yet he thought he could do a great deal more if he could set up his press in Boston. Therefore, on the assembling of the General Court in May, 1674, he again petitioned for permission to open a printing office in Boston. This time, probably through the influence of Rev. Increase Mather, one of his patrons, the General Court favored him. His petition reads:

"To the honorable the Governor, Deputy Governor, and the rest of the honored Magistrates and Deputies for the Massachusetts Colony, assembled in General Court at Boston, 27: 3d month, 1674.

The humble petition of Marmaduke Johnson of Cambridge, printer: Sheweth,

That your petitioner being in London brought up in the art of printing and in no other calling or occupation, and being by the providence of God brought into this country with his press and letters in the year 1665, it pleased this honored Court (after his arrival) to pass an order bearing date the 3d<sup>3</sup> of May in the

<sup>1</sup> *Sewall's Diary*, I, p. 3.

<sup>2</sup> *Mass. Hist. Soc'y Coll.*, Fifth Series, I, pp. 422-424.

<sup>3</sup> Error of Johnson, the correct date being May 27, 1665.

year aforesaid, thereby prohibiting the exercise of printing in any town within this jurisdiction save only at Cambridge. In obedience whereunto your petitioner hath ever since made that his place of residence. But finding by long and sad experience the great discommodity and detriment by such confinement of his calling, and an absolute impossibility of providing comfortably for himself and family by the incomes thereof, though managed with greatest care and followed with all possible diligence, not having employment therein for one third part of his time, conflicting with difficulties too great and many to be here recited: and also being sensible of the loss and disadvantage accruing hereby to the Commonwealth, who by his art and endeavors might have many useful and profitable tracts printed and published here, were he allowed the liberty of his calling in a convenient place of trade: and humbly conceiving no more security to the State in preventing the printing things irregular, or abusive thereunto, by such confinement than if it were exercised in the most populous town within this jurisdiction; all which your petitioner is ready to demonstrate if called thereunto:

Doth therefore in all humility pray this honored Court that you would be pleased to take the premises into your grave and serious considerations and grant him such liberty and relief therein as in your wisdoms shall seem meet, that so the art of printing may by this honored Court be duly encouraged and the practitioners thereof have lawful liberty of exercising the same in such place within this jurisdiction as they shall find most commodious for them and most to the advantage of the Commonwealth, submitting at all times to such laws and orders as are or shall be made concerning the premises by the authority of the Commonwealth.

And your petitioner as in duty bound shall ever pray.

MARMADUKE JOHNSON.

30<sup>th</sup> MAY 1674.

The magistrates judge meet to grant the petitioner's request so as nothing be printed till license be obtained according to law their brethren the deputies hereto consenting.

EDWARD RAWSON, Secretary.

The deputies consent hereto.

WILLIAM TORREY, Cleric."

At the same session in which Johnson's petition was granted the General Court appointed Rev. Increase Mather, then thirty-five years of age, a licenser of the press, the record of which reads as follows :

" May 27, 1674. Whereas there is now granted that there may be a printing press elsewhere than at Cambridge, for the better regulation of the press, it is ordered and enacted that the Rev. Mr. Thomas Thatcher and Increase Mather of Boston be added unto the former licensers, and they are empowered to act accordingly."

The permission to set up his press in Boston having been received, Johnson began to look around for a location, and on July 18, 1674, bought of George Norwell for £102 a lot of land with the buildings thereon, situated on Middle Street, having a frontage of twenty feet and a depth of one hundred feet. Middle Street is now known as Hanover Street, and Johnson's lot was about three hundred feet north of the present Cross Street, on the westerly side of the street. The fact that Rev. Increase Mather resided on North Square, only a short distance away, probably influenced his choice. The price paid for the house and land shows that Johnson had saved his earnings. To this house he removed his family and, setting up the press in one of the rooms on the entrance floor, opened the first printing office in Boston. Although Johnson had at last succeeded in obtaining what he had so long desired, yet his possession was very short, for he was soon stricken by disease, and died December 25, 1674.

To the *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, Second Series, Vol. XIII, Dr. Belknap contributes some extracts from a diary kept by Rev. Increase Mather, one of which reads:

"1674 Dec. 25. Marmaduke Johnson the Printer died in Boston. He had first<sup>1</sup> fitted his press to go to work. He was to have printed the Indian Bible. Mr. John Foster bought the press intending to set up printing in Boston."

Concerning these extracts Dr. Samuel A. Green says:

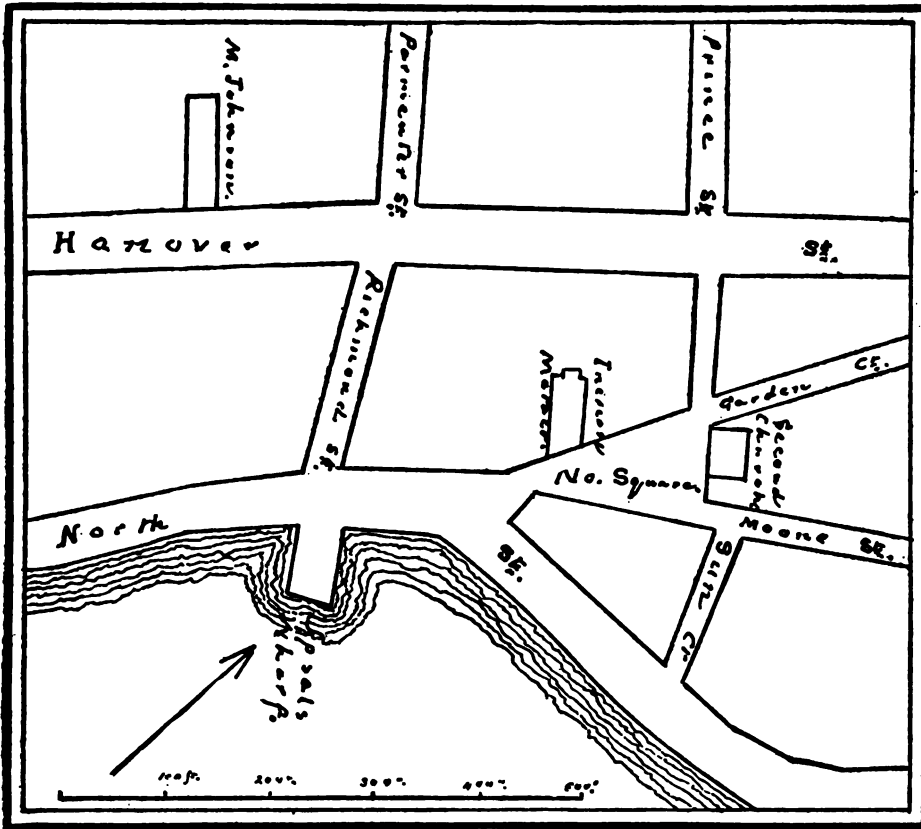
"It is highly probable that Dr. Belknap's extracts were not always exact copies from the original diary, i. e. letter perfect copies; but were given in a somewhat shortened form, though the substance was kept."

Johnson's widow did not long survive him. She continued to reside in the Boston house, where she died in April, 1676. The following inventory of Johnson's estate is copied from the Probate Records of Suffolk County:

"An Inventory of the goods & estates of m<sup>r</sup> Marmaduke Johnson who deceased decem<sup>b<sup>r</sup></sup> 25<sup>th</sup> 1674: taken by y<sup>e</sup> subscribers

Imp: his wearing apparell vallued at	009 00 00
It: a belt & rapier at	000 12 00
It: a pike	000 05 00
It: a Bed with its furniture & Bedsted	007 18 00
It: another featherbed with Bedsted & furniture	008 05 00
It: 1 flock Bed & hamack & furniture	002 12 00
It: four pair of Sheets	003 00 00
It: 1 Douz: napkins	000 12 00
It: 10 napkins more fine	000 12 06
It: 4 napkins & 1 tablecloth	000 10 00
It: ½ Douz pillow coats & 3 small table clothes	000 10 06
It: Pewter Dishes & other Pewter	002 12 00
It: 1 great Brass Kettle	002 00 00

<sup>1</sup> Just (?)



Drawn by GEORGE LAMB, 1906

Plan of Hanover Street and Vicinity, Boston, showing M. Johnson's House and Printing Office



It: 2 p' Andirons firehovell tongs & Bellows	000 17 00
It: 1 warming pann	000 09 00
It: 1 square table	001 00 00
It: earthen ware	000 04 00
It: Box iron & heaters	000 03 00
It: Silver wine taster & small Buttons	000 12 00
It: 2 Iron Pots 1 old Kettle Drippin pan & puddin pan	000 14 06
It: 8 chaires & 4 Stooles	000 19 00
It: 1 chest	000 08 00
It: 2 chests	000 14 00
It: a cupboard	001 00 00
It: powdring tub & meat	000 10 00
It: 1 Baskett	000 03 00
It: 3 Douzen of trenchers	000 02 06
It: 6 glass Bottles	000 03 00
It: Kneading trough & sieves	000 08 00
It: wool & yarn	000 04 00
It: 1 tin funnell & peppar Box	000 01 00
It: 2 candlesticks & a lamp	000 01 00
It: 2 cupboard cloathes	000 06 00
It: 1 great Bible 14: 1 m' Sheppheards tenn virgins 10:	001 04 00
It: 1 small Bible 4: 2 other Bookes 6,	000 10 00
It: 4 Douz: primers	000 16 00
It: writing Bookes	000 08 00
It: about 100 assemblies & m' Cottons Catachisms	000 10 00
It: wo to Drunkards; church Discipline, m' Michaells election sermons	000 06 00
It: thin Plate Brass & parchment	000 09 00
It: an ink tub with ink	000 03 00
It: book Bynders Press & tooles	006 00 00
It: sceales weights & measure	000 05 00
It: 3 Douz of mount Zion	000 10 00
It: 2 sheets of the psalter	001 00 00
It: 1 ream of Paper w <sup>th</sup> other wast paper	000 09 00
It: wicker Cradle	000 04 00



## Marmaduke Johnson

It : some other lumber 10 <sup>o</sup> & seven Steins	
3 <sup>o</sup> 6 <sup>d</sup>	000 13 06
It : ½ <sup>p</sup> of a Ketch	007 00 00
It : 1 apprentice Boy	007 00 00
It : Printing press & letters w <sup>th</sup> y <sup>e</sup> utensills	050 00 00
It : an House & land at Cambridge	045 00 00
It : 1 musket & rest	000 08 00
It : a house in Boston	104 00 00
Apprised By	SAMUELL GOFFE
	WALTER HASTING
287 13 06	
Debts Due to the estate at present known	012 00 00
	299 13 06

Ruth Johnson made Oath in Court 29<sup>th</sup> 11m<sup>o</sup> 1674 that this is a Just & tru Inventory of the estate of her late husband Marmaduke Johnson to the Best of her Knowledge & that when she knowes more she will Discover the same this Done as Attests :”

The following record is taken from Early Files of Court, Suffolk County, No. 4052 :

“At a County Court held at Boston 29<sup>th</sup> 11m<sup>o</sup> 1674. administration of the estate of Marmaduke Johnson late of Boston, printer, is granted to Ruth Johnson his widow.”

File 880 contains the inventory of Ruth Johnson, from which we make the following extracts,

Inventory of Ruth Johnson of Boston, relict of Marmaduke Johnson, taken April 25, 1676.

Item : In bookes & book binders towles	7-0-0
It. One house and land at boston	100-0-0
It. there is 10 <sup>li</sup> due from the Corporation concerning the Ingin work of primers.	

Her will reads as follows :

“Will of Ruth Johnson of Boston, widow. I give to my brother Jonathan Cane that house and land at Cambridge. In

case that my husband's son whom I never saw come not to demand it & let it be kept in. And in case he comes it is my will that the aforesaid house and lands be delivered to him without any molestation of him or any by or vnder him.

APRIL 3, 1676

JOHN CONNEY.

JOHN RICH."

The age of Johnson has not been determined. In 1659 Mr. Eliot had asked the Corporation to send over "an honest young man who hath skill to compose," desiring a master-printer, and not an apprentice. The Corporation sent over "a citizen and stationer of London," which meant that he was of age and a member of the guild of stationers. He had been married and had at least one child. It is probable, therefore, that he was about thirty years of age when he arrived in Cambridge, and forty-five when he died.

The last book printed by Johnson was the Election Sermon preached before the General Court of Massachusetts, May 27, 1674, by Rev. Samuel Torrey of Weymouth, the same Court at which he received his permission to remove to Boston. The General Court ordered it to be printed. The order is printed in the book and reads:

"At a General Court held at Boston May 27, 1674. This Court orders that the Reverend Mr. Samuel Torrey be thanked from this Court for the great and acceptable pains which he took in his late Election Sermon; and that he be desired to print his said sermon, with as much speed as may be. And that *William Stoughton* and *Thomas Clark, Esqs; Capt. Hugh Mason, Mr. William Parkes, Mr. Peter Bulkley*, be appointed in the name of this Court to give him thanks accordingly.

By the Court

EDWARD RAWSON, Secret."

Although the imprint reads *Cambridge: Printed by Marmaduke Johnson 1674*, it is by no means certain that it was wholly printed in Cambridge. When the title of a book was printed on a leaf of the first signature of the text, it was the custom, at that time, to give it the date of the year and the name of the town in which it was printed. In this book the title occupies the third page of the first signature, the first page being blank, and the order for printing occupying the second page. The fourth page is also blank, and the six following pages are occupied by "To the Reader." Signature *A*, however, includes only four pages of "To the Reader," the two remaining pages occupying the first two pages of signature *B*. The sermon commences on *B* 2. This shows that the title-page and "To the Reader" were printed before the sermon, and that at whatever time the printing was begun, it was afterwards what might be called a continuous performance, — that is, the sermon was not printed first and then held back awaiting "To the Reader." The sermon was delivered May 27, 1674, and on the same day the Court ordered it to be printed "with as much speed as may be." When it was printed it carried an introduction "To the Reader" written by Rev. Increase Mather, which is dated "Boston, N. E. 26, 5, 1674." Mr Torrey probably had handed over his manuscript to Mr. Mather, the newly appointed licenser, and left the selection of the printer with him, after he had written his introduction. Johnson had already printed for Mather, and as he was now coming to Boston, perhaps through Mather's influence, the order to print was given to him.

The manuscript could not have been handed over, however, until after July 26, at which time Johnson's press was still in Cambridge, although he himself probably paid daily visits to the house which, on July 18, he had bought in Boston near the residence of Mr. Mather. As the book was to be printed as soon as possible, it was undoubtedly put to press as soon as the manuscript was

AN  
EXHORTATION  
UNTO  
Reformation,

AMPLIFIED.

By a Discourse concerning the Parts and Progress of that  
Work, according to the Word of God.

Delivered in a SERMON Preached in the Audience of  
the General Assembly of the *Massachusetts* Colony,  
at *Boston* in *New-England*, May 27. 1674.

BEING THE  
DAY of ELECTION  
T H E R E.

By *SAMUEL TORREY*, Pastor of the Church of  
Christ in *Weymouth*.

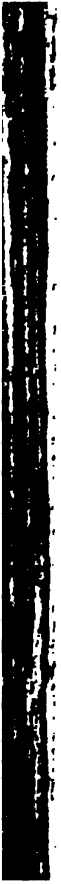
*Iſa.* 30. 15. For thus ſaith the Lord God, the holy One of Iſrael, In returning and reſt ſhall ye be ſaved, in quietneſs and in confidence ſhall be your ſtrength, and ye would not.

*Ver.* 18. And therefore will the Lord wait, that he may be gracious unto you, and therefore will he be exalted, that he may have mercy upon you; for the Lord is a God of judgement: and bleſſed are all they that wait for him.

*Jer.* 3. 22. Return ye backſliding Children, and I will heal your backſlidings: Bbold, we come unto thee, for thou art the Lord our God.

*Rev.* 2. 7. He that hath an ear— let him hear what the Spirit ſaith unto the Churches.

Cambridge: Printed by *Marmaduke Johnson*. 1674.



received from Mr. Mather, and as the first signature was printed in Cambridge the name of that town appears in the imprint. Johnson, however, had been very anxious to remove to Boston, and now that he had received the permission so long sought, and had purchased a house in which to install his press, it is not likely that he would delay his removal any longer than was absolutely necessary. When everything was ready, it would require only a few hours to make the transfer. To take his printing outfit by wagon to the foot of Dunster Street, to place it upon a boat, to row or sail down Charles River, to pass around the northern end of the peninsula of Boston to the landing place at the foot of Richmond Street, and again to cart the press to his house on Hanover Street, would be a comparatively easy job, and one which there is every reason to believe Johnson took in hand as soon as possible. The writer has rowed over this course many times, the time occupied in making the trip down and back being less than four hours.

The book when printed formed a quarto of seven signatures, or twenty-eight leaves, and the page which, including headlines and catchwords, measures  $6\frac{1}{2}$  by  $4\frac{1}{2}$  inches was very nearly the size of the page of the Indian Bible. It was estimated by Johnson in 1660 that it would take a week to print a signature of the Bible, although there were two presses and several workmen. After events proved that his estimate was correct. Using that estimate as a basis for calculation, how many weeks would it take to print seven signatures almost identical, using only one press and a greatly reduced force of workmen? If we allow that he began to print the second signature on the first of August, it would certainly have been very close to November before he would have had copies ready for delivery.

We know that Johnson died on December 25, 1674. What was the nature of his disease, or how long he was sick, does not appear. From the inventory of his estate, which was

made by two of his old neighbors in Cambridge, and sworn to in Boston, and from the inventory of the estate of his widow, it is clearly shown that he was a citizen of Boston, that his house had been furnished, his press was in running order, and an apprentice boy at work. Johnson had established himself in Boston and his press was a Boston institution. That he had delayed coming to Boston two or more months simply to print this book is beyond belief. There was not the slightest necessity for his remaining in Cambridge. The business was in Boston, and there he must go as soon as possible. By simply removing his press to Boston, a very easy task and to be accomplished in one or two days, he would be in a position to accept whatever business might be presented, would be in touch with the Town House in King Street, and would be within less than five minutes' walk of the house of Rev. Increase Mather, who if he wished could watch the printing of this book day by day, and by receiving the proof sheets direct from the press could make the necessary corrections without delay, and thus hasten the publication. It is therefore the firm belief of the writer that six of the seven signatures of Rev. Samuel Torrey's Election Sermon of 1674 represent the **FIRST PRINTING DONE IN BOSTON.**

Some harsh things have been said about Johnson, which do not appear to be warranted by the facts. Owing to an unfortunate episode which occurred in the second year after his arrival in Cambridge, he very nearly wrecked his promising career. A part of the charge against him was true, but the criminal part was not, as he was able to show a year or two later. To him the affair was very serious, and the worry over it caused him to neglect his business. At the end of six months, however, he seems to have so far recovered from his misfortunes as to be able to attend to his duties at the press, and there is no evidence that afterwards he neglected them. The Commissioners apparently were prejudiced against him, and in their letters

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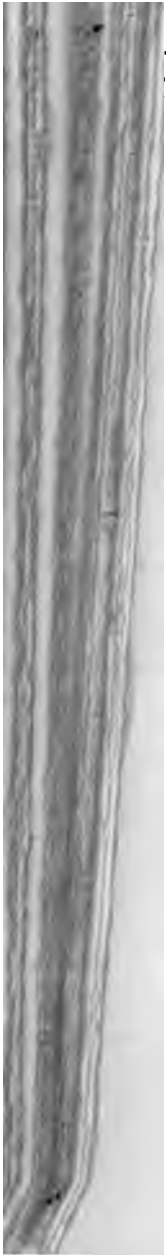
to the Corporation "damned him with faint praise." He, however, won the commendation and friendship of President Chauncy and Rev. John Eliot, who wrote complimentary letters of him to the Corporation, and thus enabled Johnson to triumph over his detractors. His biographers seem to have paid a great deal of attention to the reports of the Commissioners, and little to the letters of Eliot and Chauncy.

He was the first printer to set up in the colony a press which was his own property, and the first person to open an independent printing office where any one could have a book or pamphlet printed subject only to the licensers of the press. Among his patrons were Rev. Increase Mather, Rev. Jonathan Mitchell, Rev. Samuel Torrey, Joshua Scottow, and he was evidently getting patronage from the College and Colony when death intervened.

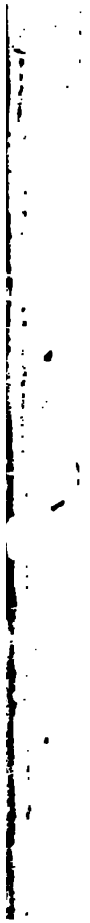
He married, in 1670, Ruth Cane, the daughter of a respected citizen of Cambridge, and the town appointed him a constable. When employed by the Corporation he received a salary of forty pounds a year, which compared very favorably with the salaries of the most celebrated ministers of the day. The inventory of his estate shows that he was comparatively a rich man, and proves conclusively that instead of being idle and improvident, as many of his biographers have said, he was active, industrious, prudent, successful in business, and respected in the community.

It is certain that he was the owner and proprietor of the first printing office in Boston, and it was from him that John Foster acquired his knowledge of the typographical art.









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